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OFFICERS

of the

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

May, 1933-May, 1934

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Vice-Presidents

L. Y. SHERMAN ..... Daytona Beach, Fla.
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PAUL M. ANGLE ..... Springfield
CLINT CLAY TILTON ..... Danville
CARL E. BLACK ..... Jacksonville
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FOREWORD

This volume is the forty-first of its kind to be issued since the organization of the Illinois State Historical Society. Like those which have preceded it, it contains the official proceedings of the last annual meeting and the papers read at that time.

A word about the publication policy of the Society may not be out of place here. Manuscripts dealing with almost any phase of the State's history, letters and documentary material of historical value, bibliographies and reminiscences are solicited. Shorter papers and those of general interest will be printed in the quarterly Journal of the Society; longer contributions and bibliographical material will be used in this volume. The Society reserves the right to determine whether contributions will be printed or not. It also disclaims responsibility for the views and opinions expressed by individual authors.

PAUL M. ANGLE, *Editor.*

PART I

Official Proceedings—Annual Meeting

May 10-11, 1934

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May 11, 1934

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, on May 11, 1934.

A quorum being present, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Society, called the meeting to order. It was moved, seconded and passed that the reading of the minutes of the last meeting be dispensed with. The Secretary's report (see page..) was then presented and accepted.

The Secretary notified the Society of the deaths, during the year, of Thomas Rees, a director of the Society and Miss Georgia L. Osborne, also a director and former secretary as well. It was moved, seconded and passed that the following resolutions be adopted:

WHEREAS, The death of Thomas Rees has occurred since the last meeting of this Society, and

WHEREAS, Mr. Rees was for many years a member and director of this Society, and a contributor to its publications,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society, conscious of its own debt to him, and sensible also of the loss which those who are interested in disseminating the history of our state have suffered in his passing, take this means of acknowledging his contribution to the work in which we are engaged,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society and printed in its publication.

WHEREAS, the death of Georgia Lou Osborne has occurred since the last meeting of this Society, and

WHEREAS, Miss Osborne served the Illinois State Historical Library as assistant librarian and librarian for thirty-two years, and this Society as Secretary for six years, and

WHEREAS, She brought to these positions interest, intelligence and zeal in a degree rarely met with,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society, recognizing not only its own debt to her but the obligation of all who are interested in the history of our state as well, take this means of acknowledging her unselfish service; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Society extend to her family its sympathy; and

BE IT STILL FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of Miss Osborne, spread upon the records of the Society, and printed in its publication.

Mr. Clint Clay Tilton notified the Society of the recent death of Miss Lotte E. Jones of Danville, who was active in the work of the Society for many years. The Society then adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The death of Lotte E. Jones has come to the attention of this Society, and

WHEREAS, Miss Jones was for many years active in this Society, and

WHEREAS, She not only participated in historical work herself, but also inspired others to similar activity,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society, sensible of the loss which those who are interested in the history of Illinois have suffered in her passing, take this means of acknowledging her contribution to the work in which we are engaged, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Society.

The Secretary called attention to the progress which had been made in the publication, by the Department of State, of the Territorial Records, and suggested that the Society make formal expression of its approval of what had been done to date and also of its hope that funds would be secured for the speedy completion of the project. Accordingly, the following resolutions were adopted, and the Secretary was requested to transmit them to the Secretary of State of the United States:

WHEREAS, The Illinois State Historical Society has been advised that the first three volumes of Territorial Papers of the United States will soon be issued by the Department of State, and

WHEREAS, This publication will be an exceedingly valuable addition to the history of the State of Illinois,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society express to the Department of State its appreciation of this achievement, and its hope that funds for the speedy completion of the publication will be made available.

The President then announced the appointment of Mrs. I. G. Miller, Dr. Theodore C. Pease and Frank E. Stevens as a committee to nominate Directors of the Society for the ensuing year. After the committee had retired, the advisability of amending the Constitution in order to provide for a more permanent Board of Directors was discussed. It was the consensus of opinion that directors should be elected for three year terms, with one-third of the Board chosen each year, instead of the present method of electing the entire Board for one year only. It was moved, seconded and passed that the President appoint a committee of three to prepare amendments directed to this end, and that the Secretary send notices as prescribed by the Constitution before the next annual meeting.

The nominating committee then presented the following nominations for the Board of Directors:

J. A. James.....Evanston
Laurence M. Larson.....Urbana
Theodore Calvin Pease.....Urbana
H. J. Patten.....Chicago
Logan Hay.....Springfield
George C. Dixon.....Dixon
Lincoln H. Weldon.....Bloomington
Cornelius J. Doyle.....Springfield
Mark D. Batchelder.....Peoria
Mrs. Henry English.....Jacksonville
Paul M. Angle.....Springfield
Clint Clay Tilton.....Danville
Carl E. Black.....Jacksonville
Paul Steinbrecher.....Chicago
Harold Ward.....Sterling

By unanimous vote the Secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the Society for the foregoing persons, which was done.

The meeting then adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY May 11, 1934

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, on May 11, 1934. Present, as Directors, were Otto L. Schmidt, James A. James, Theodore C. Pease, Clint Clay Tilton and Mrs. Sara John English; as Vice President, John H. Hauberg, as Secretary, Paul M. Angle.

Doctor Schmidt called the meeting to order. The Secretary read the minutes of the last meeting, which were approved. The Secretary's report was then called for, read and approved. (See page .....)

The membership situation of the Society, outlined in the Secretary's report, was discussed fully. Methods of reducing the amount of delinquent dues and ways of increasing the Society's membership were discussed. It was moved, seconded and passed that the Secretary be empowered to take such action as seemed best to him with reference to members whose dues were delinquent, and that each member of the Board do his best to increase the Society's membership.

The advisability of selling the Society's publications to non-members instead of making them available at no charge was discussed but it was decided that the time was not propitious for requesting the legal changes that would permit sales to be made.

Upon inquiry it was found that the Society had in its treasury the sum of $4,240.55. This was being held on deposit in the First National Bank and the Springfield Marine Bank, with $2,601.30 in savings deposits and the balance in checking accounts. The Secretary-Treasurer was instructed to see that all the Society's funds were covered by federal deposit insurance, and to invest a part of the funds in certificates of deposit if, upon investigation, he considered such investment desirable.

The Board then discussed the Society's part in the historical marker project upon which the Secretary had reported, as well as the question of the Society's usefulness in historical marking generally. The Secretary stated that he was confident that no

permission to place markers on State property would be granted unless the texts of the markers to be erected were approved by the Society. With reference to markers erected on private property by non-public organizations, the Society could do no more than to make known its willingness to supply data and check its accuracy.

The question of proposing an appropriation to expedite the erection of historical markers was raised, but it was the general opinion that it would be wiser to proceed with the present program even though its accomplishment, with the funds now available and in sight, might be a matter of several years.

The Secretary raised the question of his own traveling expenses in connection with historical addresses which he was frequently called upon to make. After discussion, he was empowered by the Board to request the organizations before which he appeared to defray his expenses to and from meetings.

The Secretary asked the Board to establish a policy with reference to the use of the Society's mailing list by publishers and rare book dealers. It was moved, seconded and passed that the membership should be made available to rare book dealers at the discretion of the Secretary and President, and that publishers' announcements could be mailed out from the Secretary's office when that seemed advisable.

The Secretary raised the question of the advisability of holding occasional annual meetings elsewhere than in Springfield. It was moved, seconded and passed that the next annual meeting of the Society be held in Galesburg if the invitation to meet there which was extended several months ago should be renewed.

All other business being concluded, the Board elected the following officers for the ensuing year or until successors should be chosen:

Otto L. Schmidt ..... President
George A. Lawrence ..... Vice President
H. V. Sherman ..... Vice President
Richard Yates ..... Vice President
Evarts Boutell Greene ..... Vice President
John McAuley Palmer ..... Vice President
John H. Hauberg ..... Vice President
George W. Smith ..... Vice President
Paul M. Angle ..... Secretary-Treasurer

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:

At the last annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society the possibility of erecting historical markers on the Illinois State highway system was thoroughly discussed, and the President and Secretary were empowered to study the subject and take such action as they saw fit. Accordingly the matter was taken up with Mr. Robert Kingery, Director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings. With the enthusiastic approval of Governor Horner, a plan was worked out by which markers, designed by the State Architect, would be manufactured by the Pontiac Reformatory, paid for by the Illinois State Historical Society, and erected and maintained by the Division of Highways of the Department of Public Works and Buildings.

Upon the Society was placed the responsibility of selecting sites to be marked and preparing correct inscriptions. To perform this function your President appointed an Advisory Committee consisting of the following members: Paul M. Angle, Springfield; John H. Hauberg, Rock Island; James A. James, Evanston; George Thomas Palmer, Springfield; Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; George W. Smith, Carbondale; Frank E. Stevens, Springfield; and Clint Clay Tilton, Danville. This committee passes upon and approves each marker text before it is sent to the foundry for casting.

To date the texts of twenty-six markers have been approved, and we are momentarily expecting the delivery of twelve of these from the foundry. Tentative texts for a number of other markers are nearly ready for submission to the Advisory Committee. Unless unexpected difficulties develop, we should have fifty markers in place by the end of the year. Press comments have been highly favorable, and we feel certain that the markers will play an important part in awakening not only visitors but our own citizens as well to the rich complexity of Illinois history.

In another field we are attempting to arouse and stimulate interest in the history of our state. In recent months considerable

work has gone into the preparation of a topical outline of Illinois history, intended for free distribution, particularly among schools. This outline is, in effect, a highly condensed history of the state, with selected references on each topic. Citations are made to historical fiction as well as history, and care is being exercised to include only those books which are to be found in any fair-sized public library. It is not a work for the specialist, but we believe a large number of our citizens will find it of interest.

During the past year a real effort has been made to establish and maintain closer relationships between the state society and local historical societies. I have attended a number of meetings of local societies, and have aided in the organization, in recent weeks, of one new society—the Peoria Historical Society. (Plans to organize new societies in Moultrie County and Edwardsville are also under way.) Every effort is being made to assure local historical organizations of the cooperation of the state society.

Progress has been made also in the direction of closer cooperation with the other branches of the state government which have to do with historical matters. In the restoration of the village of New Salem and the Pierre Menard home, and in planning the restoration of Fort Chartres, the Society and the State Architect have cooperated fully. A booklet describing the Capitol and Centennial Building, published by the Secretary of State, was submitted to your secretary before publication in order that no errors of fact might slip into the historical material. The Division of Parks, which is closely concerned with places of historical interest, has worked in close cooperation with the Society in compiling its descriptive literature. I am sure that the departments concerned have profited by the Society's services, while to be of aid has been a privilege from our standpoint.

The Society was also closely connected with the Historic American Buildings Survey, the Civil Works Administration project by which otherwise unemployed architects and draftsmen were used to make measured drawings of historic buildings during the last winter and spring. Your secretary was a member of the advisory board for the Central Illinois District, and aided in the preliminary research work, which was carried on mainly in the State Historical Library. Moreover, through the State Historical Society many persons residing in various parts of Illinois were drawn into the project and rendered valuable aid.

With one exception, the publications of the Society—the Journal and the Transactions—have been issued as usual. The exception was the Journal for April-July, 1933. For several months the state treasury was in such condition that expenditures for anything except absolute necessities were impossible. In order that our publication program might not fall hopelessly behind, advantage was taken of the authority granted at the last annual meeting of the directors, and a double number of the Journal was published at the Society's expense instead of through our state printing appropriation. Since that time the financial situation has improved so greatly that our publications have been issued through the regular channels.

The Society acknowledges with gratitude the gifts of many individuals. From Leonard W. Hicks of Morrison, Illinois, we have received the MS. Order Book of the 8th Illinois Cavalry.. Miss Alta Mae Speulda, Springfield, has turned over to us a MS. history of the Governor's Guard, together with a collection of newspapers relating to the Guards. To Allan D. Millard, Beardstown, we are indebted for letters of Franklin D. Roosevelt, dated October 9, 1928, and November 17, 1928. Miss Mary J. Hickman, on behalf of the estate of Henrietta Hickman, has given us the MS. record book of the 25th Regiment of Illinois, militia, from 1828 to 1841. Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Lyon, Pontiac, and Clint Clay Tilton, Danville, have donated collections of old music. Miss Nellie Flynn, Springfield, has presented a stone gargoyle from the Mormon temple at Nauvoo.

Many individuals and organizations have placed us under an obligation by the gift of books, often of their own authorship. To record publicly each gift of this kind is impossible, but the donors may be certain that their gifts are deeply appreciated even though unrecorded here.

During the past year a greater effort than usual has been made to collect arrears in dues. In letters to members we stated emphatically that we wished to drop no one from membership solely because he or she felt unable to pay dues at this time, but that we believed everyone would recognize the necessity of prompt dues payment in all possible cases. The result has been quite gratifying.

I am happy to report the addition of forty-eight new members during the past year. On the other hand, we have lost a number of members by resignation, and the following have died since the last annual meeting:

George A. Brennan.....Chicago
Dr. Carl Heper.....Chicago
Mrs. I. A. Irwin.....Springfield
Theodore Jessup.....Chicago
Everett L. Millard.....Chicago
Sylvanus Bagby Montgomery.....Quincy
Warren Nichols.....Evanston
Georgia L. Osborne.....Jacksonville
George W. Paullin.....Evanston
Thomas Rees.....Springfield
Mrs. A. B. Reeve.....Princeton
Mrs. James A. Rose.....Paducah, Ky.

Respectfully submitted,
PAUL M. ANGLE.

REPORT OF THE GENEALOGICAL COMMITTEE

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PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1934

OLIVER POLLOCK AND THE WINNING OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

By James Alton James*

"From the opening of the Revolution, my soul panted for the success of the American arms, nor could I omit any opportunity of manifesting the sincerity and ardor of those feelings, when it was in my power to be useful either to the public interest or to any individuals who had embarked their fortunes and their lives in an enterprise so hazardous and so glorious."[1] This expression of patriotic fervor is the more remarkable when we learn that it is the language of one who at the outbreak of the American Revolution had resided in one of the colonies for only two years.

When he was twenty-three years of age, Oliver Pollock came in 1760 with his father Jaret, two brothers and a young nephew, from Coleraine, northern Ireland, to Philadelphia. But little is known regarding the several members of the Pollock family in their former home. No record has been found which might serve to interpret Oliver's life in boyhood and young manhood. We find no account of his personal appearance. What education he obtained, we do not know but his many letters give ample evidence that he acquired a good use of the English language.

From the "Sign of the Indian Queen," a Philadelphia hotel, the Pollocks of Scotch-Irish decent, migrated to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, known as the capital of Scotch-Irish settlement. Here, one of the Pollock brothers erected and operated a grist-mill near Silver Spring,[2] while another acquired a tavern and became a large land owner in Cumberland County. That such a career made no appeal to the adventurous spirit of young Oliver is evident, for after two years he returned to Philadelphia where he secured a vessel and crew, and persuaded a group of merchants to entrust a

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[1] Memorial of Oliver Pollock to the Legislature of Virginia, *Clark MSS.*, Virginia State Archives. Pamphlet, October 26, 1811.

[2] The Spring, originally known as Silvers' Spring, was named after James Silvers who came into the valley (1730) and took out a land warrant for a tract of 500 acres. In later years, by common usage, the name became Silver Spring.

cargo to him. Sailing to the West Indies, as many American traders were then wont to do, he began trading from port to port with headquarters at Havana.

His success soon enabled him to secure other vessels and to become an independent trader and merchant attached to an "eminent house" in Havana. In this manner, for five years, he continued to expand his resources. He became proficient, also, in the use of Spanish. As he wrote: "in about eighteen months of assiduous study, with the constant practice of mercantile transactions I became master of it so as to do all my business without an interpreter."[3] This acquisition was to constitute an important factor in his career, for within a decade he was to become the unofficial and then the official agent of the United States in dealing with the most influential representatives of Spain residing at New Orleans.

While still at Havana, he succeeded in gaining the confidence, among others, of Alessandro O'Reilly, Irish soldier of fortune, who having saved the life of King Charles III. during a Madrid insurrection, had been rewarded with the title, Count.[4] Because of marked service, in the Spanish army, he had been promoted to the rank of major-general and second in command at Havana. He was spoken of as a man of excellent ability and possessed of great knowledge of men as well as of things.[5]

In 1768, Pollock removed to New Orleans which then offered unusual opportunities for trade with Havana and other ports on the Atlantic seaboard. It was the chief market, also for products from the Illinois country. Pollock was prepared to profit to the full from these conditions and his vessels were to be seen, at times, in English, French, and Spanish continental ports. Moreover, his good fortune was advanced beyond that of any other trader because of the following incident. On August 17, 1769, Count O'Reilly with twenty-four vessels, carrying 2600 picked and well armed troops arrived at New Orleans. He demanded the surrender

[3] James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of my Own Time*, II, appendix 1. It may be assumed that he became familiar with French also since this was the language of most of the inhabitants of Louisiana.

[4] Pollock was introduced to Count O'Reilly by his good friend, Father Butler, President of the Jesuit College. *Ibid.*

[5] John Jay knew him later in Spain. Justin Winsor, *Westward Movement*, p. 37.

of the town in conformity with the treaty of cession made with France whereby Louisiana was to become a Spanish possession.[6]

Spain, seemingly indifferent, had made no effort, until 1766, to take formal possession of this colony. Opposition to the first Spanish governor, Don Juan Antonio de Ulloa, a well known scientist and naval officer, but ruler in name only, was continuous. He had little interest in the performance of his official duties. Moreover, French colonists could not believe that the cession of Louisiana to Spain had really been consummated. They were humiliated by the thought that without their consent they had been bartered to the Spanish king. With a guard of only ninety men, Ulloa was helpless in quelling an insurrection which became general among the rank and file of the French. So desperate was the situation that hundreds of persons under well known leaders from the town and the country, assembled in the public square shouting, "Vive le Roi de France." Within three days, following the demand of the Superior Council, Ulloa, with his family, was forced to seek refuge on board a Spanish frigate which sailed for Havana, November 1, 1768.

But insurgent opposition vanished overnight with the coming of O'Reilly as Governor and Captain-General of Louisiana. Great display marked the formal surrender.

General O'Reilly quickly realized that to capture with an overwhelming military force, a town of 2000 white inhabitants and half as many slaves was a far simpler task than it was to supply his troops with necessary provisions.[7] The colony was threatened with famine. Flour quickly rose to thirty dollars a barrel and was obtained with difficulty at that price. Here was Pollock's opportunity. He had recently arrived in port on board his ship, the *Royal Charlotte,* with a cargo of flour from Baltimore. The market was under his control, but he tendered the flour to the General on the latter's own terms. Fifteen dollars a barrel were finally paid,

[6] November 3, 1762, the preliminaries of a treaty between France and Great Britain were agreed upon. Early the following year, ratifications of the definitive treaty were exchanged. France ceded to Great Britain all of her possessions east of the Mississippi River with the exception of the town of New Orleans and the island upon which it stood. She retained, also, certain small islands on the Canadian coast and in the West Indies and fishing rights on the New Foundland and Nova Scotia coasts. Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain. By separate agreement, Spain received from France, in compensation for the loss of Florida, the French territory west of the Mississippi, together with the island of New Orleans.

[7] According to a census made by O'Reilly, 1769, New Orleans contained a population of 3,190. Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana,* (New York, 1904), II, 9.

but for this mark of generosity, Pollock was granted freedom of trade in Louisiana. "And I did," he wrote, "enjoy that privilege so long as I staid in the country."[8]

At that time, other British traders in New Orleans were complaining bitterly of the restrictive system inauguarated by Spain, which prohibited the mooring of their ships on shore and forbade British officers or sailors from setting foot on Spanish soil.

The formalities, including the taking of the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain by selected leaders, ended, O'Reilly issued a proclamation demanding the arrest and trial of the conspirators, who were denounced as, "a few ambitious and fanatic men of evil intent" who had rashly abused the ignorance of the public." The execution of five of these leaders who were from the best French families, followed the finding of the tribunal. Six others were imprisoned, one of them for life, and the property of all was confiscated to the king's treasury. To strike at insurrection, without mercy, was thought by O'Reilly to be his first duty, but as interpreted by one of Louisiana's well known historians, "Posterity, the judge of men in power, will doom this act to public execration. No necessity demanded, no policy justified it. Ulloa's conduct had provoked the measures to which the inhabitants had resorted."[9] Nevertheless his critics who bewail the fate of the "Martyrs of Louisiana" acknowledge the good results of his rule, for it was under O'Reilly's direction that a reorganization of governmental administration was effected which in large measure endured throughout the Spanish period and continued in some phases even to modern times. Spanish laws were introduced and the Spanish language only was recognized by the courts but French continued to be the language in common usage.

New Orleans, enclosed on three sides by a stockade, contained seven hundred dwellings. An insubstantial levée kept the river within its channel. The streets, described as too narrow even for that day, crossed one another at right angles, thus dividing the town into thirty-six squares, each one hundred yards in length. The street names, such as Duc de Chartres, Condé, Dauphine, Royale, Bourbon are recognizable today.

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[8] Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, appendix 1.

[9] F. X. Martin, *History of Louisiana*, II, 7.
"The Prisoners argued that they had committed no act of insubordination against Spain, as Ulloa had not exhibited his credentials and had not taken possession in the name of the King of Spain." Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, I, 224

At the rear of a large square, Place d'Armes, now Jackson Square, stood the dilapidated cathedral, St. Louis. Near this structure, on the left, was the residence of the priests. The house and gardens of the *intendant* were on the right side of the square and on the left were the king's store-house and an artillery yard. A square beyond was the convent of the Ursuline Sisters, built of brick and tile and set back within a walled garden. Completed in 1734, this structure, still standing, would not be out of place in Rouen or any other French city where architectural types of that century are carefully preserved. In the language of an American architect: "With its center pedimented pavilion and its shuttered windows with their sunken panels, its high roof, its rusticated quoins, its picturesque conciergerie, it is perhaps our best example of Bourbon architecture."[10]

In general, the houses were one story, with an attic, and the two story "shop-homes" of the merchants. They were built on high foundations, were constructed of timber frames filled in with brick and had wide verandas on one or more sides. Within the *patios* were to be seen flowers, shrubs and fountains. At the sides and rear of the town were the vegetable gardens and the orchards where were grown oranges, figs, peaches and plums. Wild grapes were to be found in abundance and wine was a common beverage.

The approach to the *parade* on the water-front was guarded by twenty-one cannon mounted on platforms. Police protection was furnished by the soldiers. Ringing of bells in the guard house constituted the fire alarm and at this signal all the "carpenters, joiners and slaves" were required to hasten promptly "with axes, gaffs, pick-axes, and clubs to the place where fire has broken out, to cut and throw down entirely or in part, the building in danger of burning." The penalty for failure to render "so important a service to their country," was imprisonment and a small fine.[11]

Social usages bore a striking likeness to those current in France during the reign of Louis XV. We read of the yellow, white, pink, blue, and cherry embroidered jackets with gold and silver trimmings.[12] At social gatherings and on holidays there were to be seen also, silk and gold flowered coats, scarlet vests,

[10] T. E. Tallmadge, *The Story of Architecture in America*, (New York, 1927), p. 133. This is probably the oldest structure in the Mississippi Valley. After the building was given up by the Ursuline nuns, it became the home of the archbishop and later on a school. It is not now occupied.
[11] *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, IV, p. 201.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, No. 3, p. 103.

trousers of blue sateen lined with red serge, red-heeled shoes, silk hose, and silver knee-buckles. Conspicuous on such occasions were the women with their velvet, silk and brocaded gowns trimmed with lace, hoop petticoats, and head dresses topped off with aigrets. The ordinary dress of the men was a jacket and long breeches, "to protect them from the mosquitoes that abound here in the summer."

From this brief statement may be gathered something of the home surroundings of Pollock, who for sixteen years was the leading merchant of New Orleans. To Mrs. Pollock, he never failed to ascribe credit for making what was evidently an ideal home for themselves and their family of four sons and three daughters.

Included within the province of Louisiana farther north were settlements at Point Coupée, Natchitoches and Arkansas about half way to the Illinois country and St. Louis. There were a few plantations south of New Orleans for a distance of thirty miles but because of the low swampy ground within thirty miles or so of the mouth of the river, settlement was not thought possible. Plantations of indigo, tobacco, beans and peas were to be seen on both banks of the river for a distance of forty miles north of New Orleans. Small quantities of cotton were produced. Rice, easily grown, was one of the prime necessities for food, a traveler remarking: "there is hardly a house where they do not place on the table a dish of rice—in the morning, at noon and in the evening. The children especially are accustomed to it."[13] Corn was cultivated and "it is so necessary to this country that were it to fail, the greater part of the negroes would perish, as they are accustomed to this food and prefer it to the best bread."[14]

Indigo valued at 100,000 pistoles was shipped from Louisiana in 1763. Ten years later, a plantation with seventy slaves, across the river from New Orleans, produced in one year, 6000 pounds of indigo which sold at one dollar a pound. Other exports included rice, deerskins, and naval stores. On some of the plantations sugar of inferior quality was grown. Numbers of the planters operated saw-mills, boards and shingles finding a ready market in the West Indies. Cypress wood was most in favor for building purposes and there was said to be one hundred square miles of cypress on the Island of Orleans alone, the trees standing "as thick as the hair

[13] Francis Bouligny, *Memoir on Louisiana in 1776.* Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, II, 30.
[14] *Ibid.*

on the head." Live-oaks, superior for the interior construction of ships, were abundant. Plentiful supplies of turpentine and resin were to be gotten from the pine forests.

When Pollock began trading on the Mississippi, the total population of Louisiana was probably 10,000. From the founding of New Orleans, trade with the Illinois country had been one of the chief supports of its inhabitants. As stated by a representative of the British government: "New Orleans is but a small town, not many good houses in it, but in general, healthy and the inhabitants well looked. Its principal staple is the trade for furs and skins from the Illinois."[15]

Outfitted by Pollock and other merchants, traders, numbering from 400 to 500 yearly ascended the river during the spring and fall in little fleets of seven to twelve bateaux. These boats, usually covered, manned by eighteen to twenty-six hands, were some forty feet long and nine feet wide. Ordinarily, three months were consumed in reaching the Illinois villages, for the labor was arduous—consisting of rowing, poling, and warping, although sails were used in propelling the craft as far as practicable. The return trip took from fourteen to sixteen days. Not only were the traders forced to combine for protection from attacks by Indians and robber bands, but snags and the caving-in of the banks made navigation dangerous.

Upon arrival at the Illinois country, the packmen scattered out along the various trails for trade with the Indians. They ascended, also, to the source of the Mississippi and to the upper waters of the Missouri. The portages to Lakes Superior and Michigan were familiar to them. European goods valued at 8000 pounds sterling were consumed annually, in the Missouri trade alone. Besides flour, the Illinois posts sent peltry and furs, tobacco, salted buffalo meat and buffalo tongues, venison, cured hams, "equal to those of Bayonne," bear's oil and lead to New Orleans in exchange for liquors, groceries, drygoods and commodities used in the Indian trade. Selling prices were ordinarily 100 per cent above those for the same articles in the Paris markets. Droves of cattle were also driven from the Illinois country to New Orleans. The Spanish governor offered to contract in 1767, for 8000 barrels of flour and pork with which to supply the Havana market. During the next

[15] "Journal of Captain Harry Gordon, 1766;" Newton D. Mereness, Ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, (New York, 1916), p. 483.

decade, competition between the Spanish and the English authorities for the control of trade on the Mississippi River and its tributaries became so intense that these nations were brought to the verge of war. This was a period when Pollock was building up his fortune.

While extending his trade relations, he was profiting by land speculation and through the transportation of settlers and providing them with necessary equipment. In addition to operating his own plantation near Baton Rouge, he bought and sold lands at Manchac and up the river as far as Natchez. Some of his correspondents resided at Pensacola.

The relation established through one of the land deals was to prove of inestimable value to the colonial cause during the Revolution. Fifteen hundred acres of land near Baton Rouge, adjoining a tract of 500 acres of which Pollock was owner, were purchased by him for Thomas Willing and Robert Morris of Philadelphia. Pollock visited this city occasionally on his trading ventures, receiving such commissions in person. Describing the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, he wrote: "I was supplied with drygoods from London, Negroes from Africa, and flour from Philadelphia to the River Mississippi (for all which I had no bills protested); and by the correspondence I had with the principal commercial houses in Philadelphia, I became known to the United States."[16]

Evidence is abundant that Pollock, at the opening of the year 1776, was well on his way towards financial success as promising as that of any American of the eighteenth century. Known throughout the colonies as a successful trader, merchant, and planter, the greater number of his correspondents were individuals and firms in Philadelphia. There were many transactions carried on by him, also, for men residing in Richmond, Natchez, Pensacola and Manchac. Representing the firm of Willing and Morris, he purchased cargoes of rice which they disposed of in the Philadelphia market and of Illinois corn and wheat which they sold in the West Indies. By the close of the year 1776, he held a balance in favor of this company amounting to $42,000.

Moreover, he was, as he said, "particularly favored and countenanced" by Spanish officials. Not only was he accorded

[16] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV, 251.

freedom of trade on the Mississippi, but he was awarded the contract for furnishing flour for the New Orleans garrison. So intimate were his relations with Spanish governors that through their loans to him he was enabled to expand his commercial ventures. Their private funds also, were entrusted to him for investment, a portion of any profits being left "to my own decision."

While he was possessed of capital and property conservatively estimated as amounting to $100,000, a sum surpassed by a few only of his American contemporaries, his credit was easily double that amount.

His place of leadership among the numerous traders resident in New Orleans could not be challenged. Such an achievement is noteworthy when it is recalled that nine years, only, had elapsed since as a young immigrant he was entrusted with a commission, evidently his first, which reads: "Enclosed you have Invoice and Bill of Lading for 10 Barralls of Flour amounting to 20-9-10 which you'd please to Dispose of to the Best advantag. Remit the Proceeds in what you think will answer this market and you'l oblidg your friend and Homb. serv't."[17]

To account for his rapid advancement is impossible, unless it is conceded that he was possessed of outstanding business acumen and other qualities which were summarized by one of his associates as, "personal respectability which gave him an elevation and opened prospects, as flattering as his most sanguine hopes could have desired."

No positive statement can be made on the decisive factors which determined Pollock to use his influence and his wealth in behalf of the colonial cause. By early April, 1776, his decision had been made through obeying, as he stated: "the dictates of my own zeal . . . and from the beginning to the end I was deaf to every motive except an ardent affection for our righteous cause." Alone and without credentials from any authority, could he win from Spanish officials and from their government, support for the American cause? Such was the difficult task which he elected to undertake.

In the Illinois villages, Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and in Vincennes, George Rogers Clark, was to initiate those movements which

[17] Philadelphia, July 3, 1767, *Pollock Letters.*

led ultimately to the conquest of the Old Northwest and its acquisition by the United States. With these events the name of Oliver Pollock was to be indissolubly connected. Lacking the financial support and advice of this trader, planter, and diplomat, the cause of the American Revolution west of the Alleghenies would have run a different course.

The appeal for assistance in a letter of May, 1776, from Gen. Charles Lee who spoke for the Virginia committee of safety was not unwelcome to Governor Unzaga, successor to Count O'Reilly, and the arguments presented were well calculated to win favor from King Charles III and his advisers for the cause of America.[18] Should Great Britain succeed in subjugating the colonies, Lee wrote, her army and navy would be free at any moment to take possession of Mexico and Cuba. With America independent, Spanish possessions, it was maintained, need not fear attack. Great Britain, alone, would be incapable of raising sufficient troops for attempting such a conquest, and the superiority of her fleet would soon be reduced by the loss of America. Great Britain reunited to America would be more dangerous to Spain than one of the two if they remained separated. "Nor need there be any apprehension that the colonies having once established their independence would molest any other power for the genius of the people, their situation, and their circumstances engage them rather in agriculture and a free commerce which are more important to their interests and to their inclination." The articles which it was hoped would be supplied by Spain were guns, blankets, and medicinal drugs, especially quinine.

A plan to secure gunpowder from New Orleans was conceived by Capt. George Gibson of the Virginia line. Bearer of the letter from General Lee, Captain Gibson accompanied by Lieutenant William Linn and fifteen other men in the guise of traders arrived at New Orleans in early August, 1776. Powder and arms had heretofore been purchased in England and the West Indies but with the opening of hostilities these sources of supply had been cut off. Instances are to be found of the disposal of arms to Americans by British soldiers notwithstanding the punishment of those found guilty was 500 lashes. Lee's letter was entrusted to Pollock, who,

[18] This letter of General Lee accompanied one sent by the governor, dated September 7, 1776. *Archivo general de Indias*, Seville, Estante 87, cajon 1, legajo 6.

acting as the unofficial agent of Virginia, succeeded in concealing the identity of the messengers from the numerous British spies.

The preceding April, Pollock's efforts with Governor Unzaga to secure Spanish protection for some American vessels against their seizure by a British sloop of war on the plea that they were in a neutral port proved unavailing. To what extent the governor was influenced by the contents of General Lee's letter can only be conjectured but he finally permitted the sale of ten thousand pounds of powder to Pollock.[19] Pollock himself believed this changed attitude to be, in part, a result of the declaration of independence.[20]

Lieutenant Linn, with forty-three men, set out from New Orleans September 22, with a cargo of ninety-eight kegs of powder, 9,000 pounds, in barges. The winter was passed at Arkansas Post. With the coming of spring, meat having been procured by hunting and rice and other provisions purchased from the Spanish stores, with orders drawn on Pollock, to the amount of $2400, the voyage was resumed. Linn declared in a letter to Pollock that their supplies would suffice until they got to the Ohio River. Arriving at the mouth of the Ohio, he secured supplies which enabled him to continue his journey. That he was met, as prearranged, by a boat which was owned by Thomas Bentley of Kaskaskia, is certain. Here Linn drew an order on Pollock for sixty dollars in favor of Bentley.[21]

The expedition reached Wheeling the following May, at a time when that post and Fort Pitt greatly needed the powder for protection and to further their dealings with the Indians.[22] In October, Captain Gibson, who had been imprisoned by decree of the governor, in order to quiet the suspicions of the British consul, was permitted to embark for Philadephia on a vessel despatched by Pollock. He took with him the remainder of the powder in carefully concealed packages.

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[19] Eighteen hundred dollars were paid for the powder.

[20] *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 51 ff., under date of October 10, 1776.

[21] The finding of this voucher confirms the original hypothesis of Dr. C. W. Alvord (1909). Eleven years later, he wrote: "At the time of writing this introduction (Kaskaskia Records), I stated that the evidence furnished was only a hypothesis, but later thought on this subject has led me to believe that the logic of events furnished real proof." Alvord, "The Illinois Country 1673-1818," *The Centennial History of Illinois* (Springfield, 1920), I, 322, note 31.

[22] One means of gaining the friendship of the Indians was through the distribution of powder. They had been told by the British that the colonists had none.

Don Bernardo de Galvez, who succeeded to the government of Louisiana in January, 1777, belonged to an influential Spanish family.[23] He was thirty-one years of age and was noted for his energy and ambition. Governor Unzaga presented Pollock to his successor as a "faithful and zealous American in whom he might repose implicit confidence."[24] Governor Galvez at once tendered his services to Pollock and assured him that he would go every possible length for the interests of Congress. He declared that the port of New Orleans would be open and free to American commerce and to the admission and sale of prizes made by American cruisers.[25] American trading vessels upon arrival at the mouth of the river were seized as Spanish property in order to protect them against British vessels of war. Seizure of an American schooner provoked an order for the capture and confiscation of all British vessels between the Balize and Manchac. Aid to American troops, in goods and money, was tendered in the event of an expedition for the capture of Pensacola and the British posts on the Mississippi. Pollock urged action by the American government and suggested that blank commissions should be sent for enlisting troops in New Orleans.

Galvez refused the demand made by the governor of Pensacola for the surrender of Pollock. He hastened to begin correspondence with Col. George Morgan who was stationed at Fort Pitt. Morgan had already submitted to Galvez a plan for the conduct of the war in the West, should France and Spain make common cause against Great Britain and Portugal; his scheme comprised the capture of Niagara and Detroit and the seizure of Mobile and Pensacola.[26]

It was clear to Galvez, as it had been to his predecessor, that British plans contemplated an attack on Louisiana, and one of his earliest communications urged as a means of defense that the

[23] His father was Viceroy of Mexico and his uncle, José de Galvez, was secretary of state and president of the Council of the Indies.

[24] Oliver Pollock to the President of Congress, September 18, 1782. *Pollock Papers*, Library of Congress.

[25] By an order of the King of Spain, in spite of the suggestion that treating Americans as rebel subjects of a friendly power would be pleasing to the English King, American vessels were permitted to enter the ports of Spain. "These same Americans will be admitted to the ports of Spain although they present themselves with their own banner, distinct from that of Britain." This was based on a royal order of September 20, 1776. By a royal order of October 23, 1776, American privateers were permitted, in case of necessity, to bring their Portuguese prizes to New Orleans, but no other trading was to be allowed. Bernardo de Galvez to José de Galvez, March 21, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias*. Transcript in Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

[26] George Morgan to the governor of Louisiana, April 22, 1777. Copy in Illinois State Historical Library.

Indians should be won over to the side of Spain; this plan could, he thought, be easily accomplished because of the Indians' former subjection to France.[27] By means of gifts, friendly visits, and promises, rapid progress was made towards the accomplishment of this object. Shortly after, he requested that two frigates should be sent at once to defend the Spanish possessions against British aggression, which had reached "a point of intolerable insolence difficult to be borne by a man of honor."[28]

In meeting the demands of the inhabitants for reprisal, Galvez ordered the capture of vessels engaged in carrying on illicit commerce, and eleven were seized in one night.[29] British armed vessels appeared at New Orleans with the demand that the captured vessels and crews should be released. Hostilities seemed about to open but the British withdrew when Galvez showed no disposition to yield.[30] Two of the vessels interned were owned by Americans but they were released secretly upon the request of Oliver Pollock. The nine others were confiscated and their cargoes were sold as contraband. At that time, owing to a shortage in food, there was considerable sickness at Pensacola. Galvez sent a gift of one hundred and fifty barrels of flour to relieve the distress and this act of generosity settled the controversy.

By July, 1777, the request embodied in the letter of General Lee bore fruit and there were deposited at New Orleans, subject to the order of Virginia, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, a quantity of lead, and a large amount of clothing.[31] A year earlier the Duke de Grimaldi, Spanish prime minister, under the influence of Vergennes, induced Charles III to duplicate the secret loan of one million livres made by France to America. A continuation of the war would enable Spain, it was believed, to attack Portugal while Great Britian was unable to come to the rescue.[32] She awaited the opportunity, also, to take Gibraltar. The efforts of Benjamin Franklin won the favor of Count d'Aranda, Spanish ambassador at Versailles; but King Charles III refused to declare

[27] Galvez to José de Galvez, January 28, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias*, Seville. A year earlier, Governor Unzaga had been directed to specify to the Spanish court what were his means of defense against an attack. In reply, he showed how inadequately Spanish possessions were protected by troops and fortifications and submitted evidence which seemed to point to a design on the part of the British to seize Louisiana. Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1903), III: 101, 102.

[28] Galvez to José de Galvez, May 6, 1777. *Archivo general de Indias*. Transcript in Ayer collection.

[29] Galvez to Torre, captain general of Cuba, May 6, 1777. *Ibid.*

[30] "I received them with match-rope in hand in order to prevent any violence." *Ibid.*

[31] Dr. Bancroft to Paul Wentworth, May, 1777, in Benjamin F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives relating to America*, 1773-1783 (London, 1889-98), No. 151.

[32] Francis Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), II, 282.

openly for the American cause. On January 2, 1777, the committee of secret correspondence notified Franklin of his appointment as commissioner, by Congress, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with Spain.[33] Some days earlier, Congress had instructed Franklin that the United States was prepared to assist Spain in an attack on Pensacola providing that port and the Mississippi River should be open to the Americans.

Aid continued to be given surreptitiously to the Americans by the Spanish government. The firm of Joseph Gardoqui and Sons, operating at Bilbao, served as the chief agents for assisting America. Funds were collected at Madrid by Diego Gardoqui and forwarded to Arthur Lee who, in turn, gave his orders for goods to the firms at Bilbao. Transactions were on a cash basis for the Gardoquis drew on Lee's bankers for payment.[34] During the year 1778, America secured in this way 18,000 blankets, 11,000 pairs of shoes, 41,000 pairs of stockings, and shirtings, tent cloth, and medicines in great quantities.[35] Besides, an extensive private commerce was carried on by American merchants in Spanish ports. British representatives strove unsuccessfully to prevent this trade.

The fate of the West was largely dependent on the generosity of Governor Galvez and the liberality of Oliver Pollock. By the end of the year 1777, Galvez had aided the Americans by sending arms, ammunition, and provisions to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the amount of $74,000, Pollock holding himself responsible for this sum.[36]

Galvez was satisfed that he had performed his full duty as a representative of a neutral power. While evidence that the British were maturing plans to attack him was becoming more certain, Galvez learned through Pollock of the success of George Rogers Clark. This, he declared, would prevent the English from carrying out their plan against the Spanish possessions, for they were themselves compelled to fortify Natchez and Manchac against attack.[37]

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[33] *Secret Journals of the Acts and Proceedings of Congress from the first meeting thereof to the dissolution of the Confederation by the Adoption of the Constitution of the United States* (Boston, 1820), II, 142.

[34] Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, II, 308.

[35] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1912), III, 284.

[36] Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 113.

[37] Galvez to Torre, September 2, 1778. *Archivo general de Indias.* These captured British posts were left unprotected by the Americans and early in July were again in the possession of the British.

Without money for the support of his small army Clark began, after the capture of Kaskaskia, to issue bills of credit on Virginia in exchange for provisions. These were satisfactory to the merchants and traders, for they were received and paid at their face value in silver by Pollock, at New Orleans. That financial assistance had received little consideration from Governor Henry or Clark is evident from the following statement by Clark: "The short notice I had of my destination, not more than ten days, having to settle my business in so short a time, I never thought of asking anything about it. I remember that his excellency the Governor, told me I could get what I wanted from Mr. Pollock." From General Hand, at Pittsburgh, he had received a supply of powder which had been forwarded by Pollock. Among Clark's first accounts, we find a draft of $285 drawn on Pollock to provide horses and to cover the other expenses of Father Gibault and Dr. Jean Laffont on their notable journey to Vincennes, where the priest had many friends. The mission was completely successful. Early in August, they returned bringing the news that the American flag was now floating over that post. The additional expense of that expedition was met through further orders drawn on Pollock, amounting to $1260. In a letter of July 18, Clark wrote: "I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes, and am necessitated to draw bills on the state and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you, the answering of which will be acknowledged by his Excelly. the Governor of Virginia."[38] Large bateaux rowed with twenty-four oars, loaded with goods sent by Pollock, under the protection of the Spanish flag, slipped past Natchez, then under the control of the British, and in from eighty-five to ninety days arrived at St. Louis or the Illinois posts. Clark had succeeded in occupying Kaskaskia and Cahokia and was in control at Vincennes but could he, removed as he was from any base of supplies, maintain a hold over this territory? Full credit was given by Clark to Pollock for this assistance by which he was able to hold the Illinois country. "The invoice Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills," Clark declared, "I considered at the time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to Keep Possession of that Country."

[38] James A. James, "George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781," *Illinois Historical Collections*, VIII (Springfield, 1912), lxvii.

His fund of continental currency quickly exhausted, Clark continued during the summer of 1778 to draw drafts in rapid succession upon Pollock for "furnitures," including flour, salt, beef, hospital supplies and other necessities.

These orders were drawn in favor of Gabriel Cerré for $2000 and for $1273; in favor of A. Chouteau for $2100; of Laffont for $1000 and in favor of a score of other villagers for various sums. Men prominent at Vincennes were ready, also, to furnish supplies for the Americans, receiving in exchange, orders on Pollock.

Early in August, 1778, the first of Clark's orders with accompanying letter, had been received by Pollock. Forwarding the letter to the Commercial Committee, Pollock wrote: "You'll see he is in possession of the Illinois and that he has drawn bills on me with the expectation of my honoring them for the State of Virginia. There is to the amount of 1000 dollars already come to hand which I have accepted payable in January next, and if any more are presented I shall accept them payable at the same time as I hope before that you'll have it in your power to furnish me with sufficient funds to wipe off the whole."

He was already obligated to pay $42,500 because of indebtedness accrued on behalf of the general government. His responsibility, at that time, included likewise the $74,000 secured from Governor Galvez. Without resources with which to meet these obligations, he assures Clark that "the Cause in which we are embarked urges me to strain every nerve, and luckily having a number of good Friends have hitherto enabled me to serve my Country. In consequence of this I have accepted your bills."[39]

Notwithstanding his uncertain finances, 5000 pounds of powder were dispatched to Clark and during September, 1778, supplies and 2000 pounds of powder, valued at $7200, were likewise sent by him for the use of the Illinois troops. As soon as men could be gotten to man the boats, an additional supply was to follow.

With no hope for immediate relief and with sacrifice most extreme, Pollock succeeded in forwarding to Clark during January, 1779, 500 pounds of powder and four swivels. The Illinois French refused to accept Continental money but were ready at all times to receive orders drawn on Pollock. Drafts amounting to $10,000 were met by him through contracting for the use of his remaining

[39] *Draper MSS.*, 48J33.

slaves on the public works at New Orleans. "This," he said, "has only kept the constable from the door." But in the language of a memorial to the legislature of Virginia he was compelled "either to honor that brave man, to dishonor the American government, to dishonor the great cause of human liberty and to dishonor his own feelings, promises and character or to meet these demands as they occurred."

Clark's ability as a leader early in 1779 was to be put to the test for he was forced to meet the advance of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton which involved the possession of Vincennes and possibly the loss of the whole West. Defeat of Clark would have gone far, judged by the British plans which were projected in the West during the following year, towards contributing to the defeat also of the American forces east of the mountains.

News of the taking of Vincennes by Hamilton was brought to Clark by Francis Vigo who in the capacity of trader had gone to that post with provisions and powder for Captain Helm. These had been collected through drafts drawn on Pollock in favor of Vigo and of a number of French creditors. It was suspected by Hamilton that Vigo, who was made prisoner, had come in the interest of the Americans. As a Spanish subject, however, he was released and then returned to St. Louis, having agreed not to do anything injurious to British interests on his way to that post. This agreement fulfilled, he hastened to Kaskaskia and on January 29, he gave Clark "every intelligence that I could wish to have."[40] The day following, an additional order for $1452, drawn on Pollock, was accepted by Vigo.

Clark's position was desperate when he resolved to undertake the venture of marching immediately upon Vincennes. This is evidence of genius associated only with a born leader. "It was at this moment," he declared; "I would have bound myself seven years a slave to have had five hundred troops." The wish was vain, for not only had he received no reinforcements from Virginia but for nearly a year he had not received, as he said, "a scrape of a pen from Governor Henry."

His confidence that the expedition would prove successful inspired his men and "in a day or two the country seemed to believe it, many anctious to retrieve their characters turned out,

[40] "Mason Letter," *Clark Papers*, p., 138.

the Ladies began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the expedition, which had great effect on the Young Men."

With this enthusiasm, provisions and ammunition were soon collected. Once more, Pollock was the magic word which induced French leaders to share in the burdens of preparation. Vigo, Charles Charleville, Datchurst, and Rapicault are names again appearing. These men received orders exceeding $1000 each. Within sixty days, bills amounting to $10,000 had been drawn in favor of Vigo. They were made payable in specie or equivalent by Pollock at thirty days sight, or at a time not specified. In like manner, Joseph Plassey, a former captain under the British who was rated among the richest of the Kaskaskians, furnished Clark on the day preceding his departure for Vincennes with flour, buffalo-meat and other supplies amounting to $1565.

The events connected with that desperate winter march and the outcome are well known. For two and a half years, thereafter, the control of the West was still in the balance. The coöperation of Clark and Pollock during this critical period we may not here consider.

By his victory over the Shawnee during November, 1782, Clark offset the British plan which was closely akin to that of 1780 and was well calculated to win the support of Indian chiefs. A large force from Detroit was to advance against Fort Pitt and after taking that post was to capture the Illinois country.[41] By such a stroke, it was said, Kentuckians would be driven across the mountains and the "other inhabitants into the sea."

Clark once more had carried out his favorite policy of convincing "the Indians that they were inferior to us, that the British assertion of our weakness was false, and that we could at all times penetrate into their Country at pleasure." The red men were panic stricken. Their winter supplies were destroyed. The policy of retrenchment on the part of British officials cut down the quota of presents. As interpreted by the chiefs, this was a step towards their complete abandonment. Further demands by them, for protection from Detroit, were refused.

From this review of events up to the close of 1782, it is seen that Clark had extended his radius of menace towards Detroit and had thrown the enemy into confusion. Sickness still pervaded the

[41] February 2, 1783, *Clark Papers*, p. 189.

ranks of the rangers. Regulars, it was claimed, were not suitable nor were they equipped for winter campaigning. Said Major De Peyster: "The few Rangers of this Post prevents my doing anything essential for the relief of the Indian villages, it is therefore to be hoped that when the enemy have done all the mischief possible they will retire."[42] He was aware that the road to Detroit was open and fully expected an attack would be made by the Americans in the spring. Indian leaders were again ordered to act solely on the defensive. In demanding reinforcements, De Peyster declared: "Light troops are therefore what we want and believe me there will be amusement for a good number of them the ensuing campaign without acting on the offensive." So effectively had Clark carried out his policy of intimidating the Indians that, as stated by Boone: "The spirits of the Indians were damped, their connexions dissolved, their armies scattered and a future invasion [was] entirely out of their power."[43]

Messengers sent by General Irvine informed Clark that the expedition against Sandusky was assured. As they were about to set out from Fort McIntosh, the place of rendezvous, letters were received from the Continental Secretary of War countermanding the order. Washington had been assured, on British authority, that all hostilities were suspended and that the Indians were directed to commit no further depredations. Nevertheless, reports were still sent out by Irvine that he was about to march with a large force. These were calculated to deceive the Wyandot and prevent their coöperation with the Shawnee against Clark.

Combatant and non-combatant alike at Detroit and all the other posts awaited the passing of winter with anxious foreboding. British officials fully expected the coming of the Americans, with the design of pushing their frontier line in the Northwest forward as far as possible, and thus, in the event of peace, of securing control of the fur trade.[44]

Clark's threats to march against other unfriendly tribes as he had against the Shawnee increased the turmoil among the Indians. Once more, he had been able to procure supplies amounting to $750 with an order drawn on Pollock. He proposed enlisting a

[42] November 21, 1782, De Peyster to Haldimand, *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll's.*, XI, 322.
[43] Testimony of Daniel Boone before a Committee of Investigation, December 20, 1787. "State Department MSS.", *Bureau of Indexes and Archives.*
[44] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll's.*, XI, 351.

force of 1,500 troops which was to march against the Indian stronghold at the head of the Wabash. In this way he would convince the Indians that their very existence depended upon preserving peace with the Americans. A garrison of regular troops was to be stationed at Vincennes with supplies sufficient to equip an army which might be brought together at any time for the purpose of penetrating "into any Quarter of the Enemy's Country at Pleasure." No further effort was made to carry out these plans, for by the middle of April (1783), official announcement of peace preliminaries had reached the frontier. By the terms of the definitive treaty of peace, concluded in Paris, September 3, 1783, the Old Northwest was ceded to the United States.[45]

Since no specific reference is made in the diplomatic proceedings to the conquest by Clark, the question has long been a mooted one as to how far Clark was in military control of the Northwest and what effect it had in winning this great empire for the United States. Two views have been advanced.

Ten months preceding Clark's final drive against the Shawnee, an agent, in presenting Pollock's claims for relief before the Governor of Virginia, referred to the great expense incident to carrying on war in the West and Pollock's participation therein, declared: "But great as they [expenses] are, yet greater are the benefits you have and will derive from them. You have, Sir, taken possession, and I hope secured the remotest part of your territorial Claim, and perhaps the finest Country on Earth. You have made yourselves respectable among the Indians of that Country, and secured their friendship. You have prevented the British and their Indian allies from taking possession of that Country and thereby opened and secured a communication to New Orleans where your back Settlers on the Ohio will always meet with a friendly reception and a good market for their Produce. And you have, Sir, in all human probability prevented the British of Detroit and their Indians from joining Lord Cornwallis, while he was in the full career of a successful invader, over-running this Country. Such a junction, Sir, at that Time, would have been fatal to Virginia."[46]

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[45] Included the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

For the events leading up to the definitive treaty and the terms agreed upon, consult Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, III, 346-73.

[46] January 17, 1782. Daniel Clarke to Governor Harrison. *Cal. Va. State Papers*, III, 25-29.

This view was advanced in a letter by Governor Harrison to Clark in which he stated, that since an offensive war against the Northwestern Indians had been given up, Clark's services in that region would no longer be necessary. "But before I take leave of you, I feel myself called on in the most forcible manner to return my thanks and those of my council for the very great and singular services you have rendered your Country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British Enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country."[47]

Two of the three commissioners who were selected to adjust the claims of Virginia against the United States for debts contracted by Pollock and others in carrying on the Revolution in the West, confirmed this view.[48] "It appears to me," David Henley wrote, "from the knowledge I have of the Illinois account and papers . . . that your [Pollock's] exertions in behalf of General Clark and the troops under his command, was a means of enabling him to hold the country and support his army." William Heth in a letter to Pollock declared: "There is no circumstance of which I am more convinced than that the conquest of the Illinois country could not have been maintained by Virginia and that consequently that it would not now form a part of the United States if it had not been for your assistance and very liberal advances."[49]

In speaking of the sacrifice of his fortune and the debts he had contracted "for the support of the service," Pollock asserted: "Having no other person in that Quarter of their Country to Supply their forces, the Troops must [have] quit the Country which would now be in possession of the British or the Spanish Monarck."[50] The testimony of Clark himself confirms this argument, when he said: "the service Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills, I considered at the time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to keep possession of that Country."[51]

[47] July 2, 1783.
[48] The three commissioners were William Heth representing Virginia; John Pierce representing the United States and David Henley who was selected as the third commissioner.
[49] William Heth to Oliver Pollock, April 22, 1788. Printed pamphlet, *Va. State Archives.*
[50] July 16, 1782. *Executive Communications to the Virginia Assembly,* October 21-December 28, 1782. Virginia Archives.
[51] July 2, 1785, *Clark MSS.,* Va. Archives.

But John Pierce who represented the United States in the adjustment of the claims of Virginia declared that by leaving the territory with his forces, Clark relinquished the defense of it and "he cannot, I think be said to have maintained or defended a Country beyond him in which he retained no garrison and from which he was at such a distance as to afford no immediate assistance."[52]

Similarly divergent views have been advanced by historians. In one of his last written statements Frederick J. Turner speaks of Clark as "the conqueror of the Illinois country."[53] "We were in reality, given nothing more than we had by our own prowess gained," Theodore Roosevelt declared; "the inference is strong that we got what we did get only because we had won and held it."[54]

Arguments in support of the opposite view may be summarized as follows: "The summer of 1779 marked the zenith of Virginia's power north of the Ohio; from that date there was a steady decline. . . . For a year more, there were a score of soldiers in those posts, acting as scouts; but even these were recalled in the following winter, and the villages were left to shift for themselves. . . . Virginia had really only weakened the hold of the mother country on a small corner of the disputed territory." "The basis for the success of American diplomacy," Dr. Alvord continues; "had been laid, not by the victory of the arms of Virginia, not through the boldness of George Rogers Clark in winning the Old Northwest for the United States, but in the liberal principles held by a British statesman."[55]

In keeping with this view, the argument has also been advanced that the Earl of Shelburne had probably never heard of

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[52] Report of the Commissioners.

[53] Frederick Jackson Turner, *Sectionalism in American History*, (Henry Holt and Company, 1932), p. 55.

[54] Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, II, 38. For a similar view, see Reuben G. Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, p. 72; Claude H. Van Tyne, *American Revolution* (American Nation Series), IX, 284.

[55] Clarence W. Alvord, "Virginia and the West," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.* III (1916, 1917), p. 34.

"Most western writers, anxious to magnify the importance of their own region, have been inclined to give Clark the credit of securing for the United States this important acquisition; the easterners have had too little information on the subject to express an authoritative opinion, but many have allowed their skepticism to become evident. . . . It is possible that the American commissioners may have felt that their position in claiming the West for the new republic was somewhat strengthened by the knowledge of the success of Clark, but it is unbelievable that they would have demanded less, even had he failed, since the first boundaries proposed by Benjamin Franklin included all Canada as well as the West." Alvord, "Virginia and the West," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, III, 35.

Clark "and his operations or would have been influenced by them if he had."[56] But the testimony of Hamilton, who was captured at Vincennes, disproves this statement. "In the month of June, 1781, I returned to England. Lord Sackville, Mr. Ellis, and finally the Earl of Shelburne had the condescension to attend to my situation, and from their favor and protection am happy to think they did not attribute my failure to negligence or want of zeal for His Majesty's Service."[57]

The fact that Clark concentrated his available force at Fort Nelson after 1779 does not prove that he relinquished his hold on the Northwest. His own testimony warrants another conclusion for he wrote: "I see but one probable method of maintaining our authority in the Illinois which is this by evacuating our present posts and let our whole force center at or near the mouth of the Ohio."[58] The results of his campaigns of 1780, and 1782 demonstrate his wisdom in selecting Fort Nelson as his base for operations. In his appeal to the Virginia Commissioners for assistance in organizing an army which should by the summer of 1783 "penetrate to the head of the Wabash," he claimed that Virginia was in control of the territory which had been conquered. His expression was: "The Illinoise Settlements like to be lost to the State through inattention that will nearly double the Enemy."[59] Judged by the statement of a well-known British leader, the Illinois country was under the control of Clark in April of the previous year. "If the expedition succeeds in taking the Illinois," Lamothe wrote in submitting his plan of operation, "then the small army will embark and go to reduce the Post of St. Vincennes & continue its route to come to Detroit by the Wabache."[60] Plans for the campaign

[56] Solon J. Buck, *Minnesota Historical Quarterly*, X, 65: "The appraisal of Clark's services by contemporaries and historians has been beclouded by the erroneous assumption that his objective was the conquest of territory for the United States or Virginia. His campaign was rather in the nature of an offensive defense of Kentucky, which was just beginning to be settled, and even his plans for the capture of Detroit had the same end in view. When the available forces proved insufficient for the continuance of this type of operations he fell back to the Ohio and devoted his energies to guarding the frontier and making occasional raids into the enemy's territory. Despite the fact that bands of Indians at times got across the border and attacked the Kentucky settlements, Clark's tactics were successful to the extent that they made possible the continued influx of settlers, with the result that at the end of the Revolution Kentucky had a population of fifteen or twenty thousand. That was the real achievement of George Rogers Clark. Thus Clark's operations may have had an indirect influence on the negotiations."

[57] *Draper MSS.*, 45J69.

[58] He referred to the concentration at Fort Jefferson. The same argument obtained relative to Fort Nelson.

[59] February 25, 1783, *Clark Papers*, 204.

[60] Lamothe was then, April 24, 1782, at Detroit. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Coll's.*, X, 571.

to be carried out by the British in the spring of 1783, comprehended, as we have seen, "an expedition against Fort Pitt, the Falls of the Ohio and the Kentucky and thence to the Illinois."[61]

Fort Nelson was, as Clark wrote on a number of occasions, the key to the western country. This was well known to the British. They were aware that it dominated trade on the Ohio and that it was the center for operations against Detroit. From this base, it was possible for Clark to reach Vincennes and Kaskaskia by a much shorter march than it could have been accomplished by the British from Detroit. The report of any advance by the enemy was quickly imparted to Clark. Moreover, warriors of the tribes on the Miami and the Wabash, chief dependence of the British, could not be induced to engage in any expedition which would leave their villages exposed to attack by an enemy so readily brought against them.

After a review of these facts, I again state, in answer to the criticism of my use of the expression "conquered territory," that Clark was really in military control of the greater part of the Northwest when negotiations for peace were begun.

The American commissioners could have had no doubt on this point. Was it not the foundation for the demand that the Great Lakes and the Mississippi were to constitute the boundaries? Indisputable right to this territory had been asserted as an offset to any Spanish claims. American ministers at Versailles and Madrid were informed through a letter prepared by a committee of Congress, "that if a right to the said territory depended on the conquests of the British posts within it, the United States have already a more extensive claim to it than Spain can acquire, having, by the success of their arms, obtained possession of all the important posts and settlements on the Illinois and Wabash, rescued the inhabitants from British domination and established civil government in its proper form over them."[62] In fact the Spanish Governor at St. Louis in December, 1780, defined the status of the inhabitants as subjects of the United States by right of conquest.

That this claim constituted the background for the attitude of the American commissioners in Paris is definitely confirmed by

[61] Feb. 2, 1783, *Clark Papers*, 189.
[62] Oct. 17, 1780, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, VI, 868. The claim of Spain was based on the so-called conquest of St. Joseph, 1781.

the correspondence of John Jay. In a letter to Robert R. Livingston, November 17, 1782, two weeks before the signing of the peace preliminaries, Jay referred to the proposed territorial claims of Spain as defined by a line extending from the "confluence of the Kanawha with the Ohio, thence round the western shores of Lakes Erie and Huron, and then round Lake Michigan to Lake Superior." This suggested boundary, likewise approved by the French representative, was declared to be "utterly inadmissable" by Jay. "Dr. Franklin joined with me," he wrote, "in pointing out the extravagance of this line; and I must do him the justice to say that in all his letters to me, and in all his conversations with me respecting our western extent, he has invariably declared it to be his opinion that we should insist upon the Mississippi as our western boundary."[63] Franklin, beyond question, knew of the military accomplishments of Clark, and it may be inferred that he gave this information to the other commissioners.[64]

Any claim by Great Britain to the territory had been disposed of in the report of a special committee of Congress which declared: "From a full confidence that the western territory now contended for lay within the United States, the British posts therein have been reduced by our citizens and American Government is now exercised within the same."[65] Even more definite was the declaration of a second committee which met the approval of Congress. This was committed to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs "to be by him digested, completed and transmitted to the ministers plenipotentiary of the United States for negotiating a treaty of peace." "The very country in question," it asserts, "hath been

[63] Jay to Robert R. Livingston. *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (New York, 1891), II, 390.
In a letter to Livingston, April 12, 1782, Franklin declared: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country. In what light does this proceeding appear to Congress? While they decline our offered friendship, are they to be suffered to encroach on our bounds and shut us up within the Appalachian Mountains?" Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, V, 300.

[64] In a letter written to him by Petre Sargé, from La Rochelle, France, July 6, 1779, Franklin was informed of the capture of Kaskaskia and Vincennes by Clark and of the assistance given by Pollock. Sargé had sailed from New Orleans, April 20. "Franklin Papers," *American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia.

[65] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XXIII, 476.
The report of the committee was based upon a communication submitted by the Massachusetts delegates in Congress which contained the statement: "The very country in question hath been conquered through the means of the common labors of the United States. . . . From a full confidence that the western territory now contended for lay within the United States the British posts therein have been reduced by our citizens and American government is now exercised within the same." This, in substance, was the content of an act of the Massachusetts Legislature, Oct. 27, 1781. It was submitted to Congress, Nov. 17, of that year and was reported on by a special committee, January 8, 1782.

conquered through the means of the common labours of the United States."[66] Is there not warrant for the conjecture that Franklin was referring to this phase of their instructions when he wrote: "After some weeks, an under-secretary, Mr. Strachey, arrived, with whom we had much contestation about the boundaries and other articles, which he proposed and we settled. . . . We spent many days in disputing, and at length agreed on and signed the preliminaries. . . . They wanted to bring their boundary down to the Ohio, and to settle their loyalists in the Illinois country. We did not choose such neighbors."[67]

The suggestion has been made that because of the great expense incurred in keeping control of the Indians, Great Britain was willing to transfer her claim over the Northwest to the United States. But the policy of buying Indian friendship did not cease with the signing of the treaty of peace.[68] British negotiators at the Treaty of Ghent, which brought the War of 1812 to a close, strove in vain to induce the American diplomats to accede to their desire to regain control over the Northwest. This accomplished, an Indian reservation was to be created which should serve as a permanent barrier between the United States and Canada west of Niagara.

Chief Black Hawk, as late as 1832, is known to have received yearly presents from British officers at Malden and felt secure of a retreat to Upper Canada if he failed in his rebellion against the authority of the United States.[69]

But the accomplishments of Clark, impossible without the contributions of Pollock, have even greater significance in the development of our nation. That there was a vision of the significance of these events on the part of some of the contemporaries of Clark and Pollock may be seen as we read: "Two very important events are presumed to have depended in a great measure on these very services of Mr. Pollock:

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[66] August 16, 1782. *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XXIII, pp. 517, 524.

[67] John Bigelow, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1875), III, 199-201. At the time of this communication to Livingston, Dec. 5, 1782, Franklin stated that he had received letters from Livingston dated Sept. 5, 13, 15 and 18.

[68] See Louise Phelps Kellogg, "Indian Diplomacy during the Revolution in the West," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* No. 36, (Springfield, 1930), p. 12.

[69] *Ibid.*

"'By means of them, the conquest of the Illinois Country was made and secured; and it consequently now forms a part of the United States,

"'By means of them, Spain is assisted not only in preserving her own colony of Louisiana, but in making a conquest of, and retaining, two other colonies, West Florida and East Florida, which then belonged to the common enemy, Great Britain; and Louisiana also has become a part of the United States. From this resolution, and these spirited exertions, in this quarter in the dawn of the revolution, of which Mr. Pollock was the life and soul, the most important effects are at this very day arising.'"[70]

This view has been presented by one of the leading interpreters of our history as follows: But if the Northwest had not been acquired by the heroic action of George Rogers Clark, all the territory to the westward, which the map shows to be more than half of the United States, would never have been acquired; but if the *cribs and cabins* of the United States, to use an old phrase, had been confined to the Allegheny Mountains, it could never have had that career of imperial greatness that we see before us now."[71]

[70] From *The Case of Oliver Pollock*, December, 1803.

[71] J. Franklin Jameson in the hearing before the Joint Committee on the Library, Congress of the United States, Sixty-ninth Congress, second session, on Senate Joint Resolution 139 and House Joint Resolution 307. "Joint Resolution Providing for the Participation of the United States in the Celebration in 1929 of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Conquest of the Northwest Territory by George Rogers Clark, Authorizing an Appropriation for the Construction of a Permanent Memorial in the City of Vincennes, State of Indiana, and for other Purposes."

An appropriation of $1,000,000 was made by the Federal Government for this purpose and the memorial is now complete. It is one of the outstanding monuments in the United States. Towards its construction, the State of Indiana also contributed.

LINCOLN AND NEW SALEM

A Study in Environment

By Benjamin P. Thomas*

Until recent years Lincoln's heredity and the different environments in which he spent his boyhood, youth and early manhood were looked upon as drab, sordid, uninspiring; as obstacles that he in some mysterious manner succeeded in surmounting. Recent research has traced his family back for generations and revealed him not as rising from the dregs of society, as some had supposed, but as the product of decent, sober, respectable, if unlearned and unambitious parents, and of a line of typical American pioneer ancestors.

The work of Frederick Jackson Turner and his school of historians has given us a better understanding of the influence of the frontier in shaping American institutions, characteristics and life. With this comes a better appreciation of the part the frontier played in shaping Lincoln. We are beginning to realize that while Lincoln's early environment was hard and crude in some respects, it was also a powerful developer of self-reliance, independence and energy.

Lincoln had less than a year of formal schooling. For the rest, he was self-made. He learned; he was not taught. What he read he mastered; but he did not read widely. He learned principally by mingling with people and discussing things with them, by observation of their ways and their reactions—in short, from his environment. Carl Sandburg in the preface to his *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* says that Lincoln was "keenly sensitive to the words and ways of people around him. Therefore those people, their homes, occupations, songs, proverbs, schools, churches, politics, should be set forth with the incessant suggestion of change that went always with pioneer life. They are the backgrounds on which the life of Lincoln moved, had its rise and flow and was moulder and moulded."

With this conception New Salem assumes a new importance as a factor in Lincoln's development. No other period of his life

* Since this paper was read, Doctor Thomas, the Executive Secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, has elaborated this theme in a book entitled *Lincoln's New Salem*, published by the Association.

Photo by Herbert Georg

A Part of the Restored Village of New Salem

From left to right: Hill residence, Hill and McNamar store, Lincoln and Berry store, Lukins' residence

lends itself so readily to intensive study of his environment as do his six years there. His physical surroundings have been recreated. The names and occupations and something of the character of most of the inhabitants of the village are known. Information on the village life is available in letters, newspapers, reminiscences of residents or their descendants and miscellaneous sources.

New Salem was founded in 1829, by John M. Camron and James Rutledge. Its beginnings were a mill, a store and a saloon. At first its growth was slow. Then, in 1832, expectation of the Sangamon River's being made navigable for light-draft steamboats and anticipation of New Salem's becoming a thriving river town caused a boom in it and the surrounding country. But navigation of the river proved impracticable, and by 1833 or 1834 New Salem's growth had stopped. By 1836 it had begun to decline. Its inaccessibility, a conviction that it had no future as a river town, and restriction of its trading area by the growth of other towns induced its residents to try their luck again somewhere else. In 1839, when Menard County was set off from Sangamon and Petersburg was made the county seat, New Salem received its final blow. Its few remaining inhabitants moved to the more promising town, some of them taking their houses with them. By 1840, New Salem did not exist.

At the height of its prosperity it contained about twenty-five families and at least thirty log or frame structures, among them a combination saw and grist mill, a tavern, three or four stores, a "grocery" or saloon, a carding machine and storehouse for wool, a cooper shop, a blacksmith shop and a tannery. Among its residents were a shoemaker, a hatter, a wheelwright and cabinet maker, and two doctors.

Most of the buildings were log houses rather than cabins. The frontiersman distinguished between these types of structures. Peck's *New Guide for Emigrants* (1837) says: "A *log house*, in western parlance, differs from a cabin, in the logs being hewn on two sides to an equal thickness, before raising; in having a framed and shingled roof, a brick or stone chimney, windows, tight floors, and are frequently clapboarded on the outside, and plastered within. A log house, thus finished, costs more than a framed one."

New Salem was the center of a prosperous agricultural region. Within a radius of ten or fifteen miles were scattered farms and smaller settlements—Clary's Grove to the southwest, Little Grove to the west, Rock Creek to the south, Sand Ridge to the north, Sugar Grove and Irish Grove to the northeast, Indian Point and Athens to the east. From all these places the village drew trade and visitors. In August, 1834, C. J. F. Clarke described conditions in the New Salem neighborhood to his friends in the East. "I have been requested," he wrote, "by all those that I have recd letters from to write what the people live in, what they live on etc. I will tell you. I should judge that nine tenths of them live in log houses and cabbins the other tenth either in brick or framed houses. The people generally have large farmes and have not thought so much of fine buildings as they have of adding land to land, they are now however beginning to build better houses. Many a rich farmer lives in a house not half so good as your old hogs pen and not any larger. We live generally on bacon, eggs, bread, coffee. Potatoes are not much used, ten bushels is a large crop and more than is used in a family in a year. Sweet potatoes are raised here very easy. The wheat crop is very good, corn is very promising mother wishes to know what kind of trees grow here. We have all kinds except pine and hemlock, houses are built of white oak and black walnut and white walnut and some linn. Almost all kinds of fruit grows here spontaneously among them are the crab apple, cherry, two or three kinds of plums, black and white haw, gooseberrys, etc., etc. The black walnut is a beautiful tree the wood of which is very much like mahagony. There is a considerable quantity of cotton raised here but none for expotation. Tobacco grows well here, etc. etc."

Most of New Salem's inhabitants were young, enthusiastic, full of hope and confidence. They were of the third wave of migration, having been preceded by the roving hunters and trappers and the restless squatters. They were homebuilders, most of them with some stock and capital, who bought land or hoped to do so soon. They too were restless, however, and many of them moved on in search of something better. Courage, persistence, ingenuity were the requisites of success. Wealth, "kin and kin-in-law didn't count a cuss." Government was of, by and for the people, with public opinion as its principal sanction.

There were two elements in the place. One was a rough and roistering, happy-go-lucky crowd known as the Clary's Grove boys. They lived in and around the community of that name, but came to New Salem to drink, gossip, trade and play. Their hangout was Clary's grocery; for Bill Clary, owner of the grocery, was a brother of John Clary, the founder of Clary's Grove. Physical strength and courage were their ideals. In individual and free-for-all fights they had demonstrated their superiority over the boys from other settlements, and they ruled the town when they chose to. T. G. Onstot recorded that "they trimmed the manes and tails of horses, cut bridles so that but a little remained to break at the first pull; cut girths, put stones under saddles so as to cause riders to be thrown mounting."

Less picturesque, but more important in the life of the village, were men of a more serious turn like Dr. John Allen, Dr. Francis Regnier, James Rutledge, the tavern keeper, Mentor Graham, the schoolmaster, Henry Onstot, the cooper, Joshua Miller, the blacksmith.

But the fact that we can distinguish two types of inhabitants does not mean that social lines were drawn or social distinctions made. Doctor and laborer, preacher and ne'er-do-well took part together in the village life. Grocery keeper and temperance advocate, Yankee and Southerner, rubbed elbows with each other. Diverse types were represented in the groups that idled at the stores. Discussions in such groups brought out differences of opinion and divergent points of view. Men learned what other men were thinking.

The majority of the settlers in and around New Salem were Southerners. The Rutledges and Camrons came from Georgia and South Carolina, stopping in Tennessee, Kentucky, and southern Illinois before arriving at New Salem. Peter Lukins, the cobbler, and his brother Gregory were Kentuckians. The Grahams and Onstots came from Kentucky and Tennessee; the Chrismans from Virginia; the Berrys, who lived on Rock Creek but took a prominent part in New Salem life, came from Virginia by way of Kentucky and Indiana. Thus here, as well as in his former homes in Kentucky and Indiana, Lincoln lived in a Southern pioneer atmosphere. His contact with these people helped him understand the Southern temperament and point of view.

Interspersed with the predominant Southern element were some Yankees and a few settlers from the Middle States. Doctor Allen was a native of Vermont and had some of the characteristics of the New England reformer. He organized a temperance society and Sunday School in the village. He was a strict Sabbatarian, giving all Sunday fees to the church, and having all his Sunday food cooked on Saturday. Sam Hill, the storekeeper, came from New Jersey, John McNamar, his partner, from New York. C. J. F. Clarke and Mathew S. Marsh, who lived on nearby farms, were Yankees. The Southerners usually came by families; the Easterners were individuals who had separated from their families and had come West to seek health, wealth or adventure.

Most of the people in the community made their living from the soil, or with their hands; but the place was not devoid of intellectuality. James Rutledge is said to have owned twenty-five or thirty books. He was organizer and president of the New Salem Debating Society. Jack Kelso, a lazy, dreamy man, who was an expert fisherman and marksman, brother-in-law of the blacksmith, could quote long passages of Shakespeare and Burns. Doctor Allen was a graduate of Dartmouth College Medical School. Doctor Regnier and Rev. John M. Berry of Rock Creek, who often preached in New Salem, were fairly well educated. T. G. Onstot, son of the cooper, said that Berry did as much as any man to "civilize and Christianize the central part of Illinois." William F. Berry, son of John M. Berry and Lincoln's partner in business; David Rutledge, son of the tavern keeper; Bill Greene, who clerked with Lincoln in Offut's store, and Harvey Ross, who carried the mail to and from New Salem, attended Illinois College at Jacksonville, thirty miles from New Salem. According to C. J. F. Clarke, that institution was "doing more for this country than any eastern man could expect," and its students "almost astonish the old folks when they come home."

New Salem had no church, but services were held in the schoolhouse, across Greene's Rocky Branch to the south of the village, and in the homes of the inhabitants. The strongest religious sects were the "Hardshell" Baptists, Cumberland Presbyterians and Methodists. Strange new sects were continually forming, however, as the self-reliant pioneer—usually with untrained mind and faulty logic—exercised the prerogative of inter-

preting the Scriptures for himself. Clarke noted that besides the denominations mentioned there were many others that "deserve no name."

Every year camp meetings were held at Concord and Rock Creek. The famous Peter Cartwright, whose home was at Pleasant Plains, ten miles from New Salem, labored in the New Salem district and preached often at these meetings, which were of the old-fashioned emotional sort. Sometimes members of the congregation, overcome with hysteria, would be seized with the "jerks." "Usually persons taken with the jerks," wrote Onstot, "to get relief would rise up and dance, some would try to run away, but could not, some would resist, and on such the jerks were very severe." The women especially were addicted to this hysteria. The first jerk would loosen bonnets, caps and combs "and so sudden would be the jerking of the head that their long, loose hair would crack almost as loud as a waggoner's whip."

Besides the church members there were some free thinkers in the community who read Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* and Constantine de Volney's *Ruins of Empire,* and who questioned the pronouncements of the preachers. The church members had little hope for them. Clarke observed that the Baptists "preach the hardest election doctring that I ever heard. They say they were created for Heaven (the church members) and such as die in their sins were created for Hell, or in other words, God made a part of mankind for eternal happiness and the ballance for endless misery. This is a kind of doctering I cant stand."

The Methodists and Baptists looked askance at preachers who were college trained. Preachers of the old school suspected college men of having no religion in their hearts and knowing nothing about it except what they learned at school. Written sermons were taboo; and even preparation was frowned upon by some. A true preacher got his inspiration directly from the Lord as he spoke.

Deeply concerned with creeds and the externals of religion, church members despaired not only of unbelievers and skeptics but of those of different faiths as well. Julian Sturtevant, coming from Yale to teach at Illinois College, wrote: "In Illinois I met for the first time a divided Christian community, and was plunged without warning into a sea of sectarian rivalries, which was kept in constant agitation." Methodists and Baptists argued endlessly

"about the way to heaven, whether it was by water or dry land," while both scorned the "high toned doctrines of Calvinism" and the "muddy waters of Campbellism." Peter Cartwright told of a mother of another denomination who, at one of his revivals, forcibly tore her two daughters from the altar to prevent their becoming Methodists.

Yet religion was a potent force for good, and in some respects an intellectual stimulus. Sermons, poor as they often were, gave many people their only examples of creative mental work, while discussions of salvation, baptism, morals and faith provided a sort of intellectual free-for-all. According to Herndon, Lincoln, during the New Salem period, was a free thinker. He must have entered with zest into the theological arguments, and profited by the niceties of thought, the subtle distinctions and the fine-spun argument that they necessitated. Yet while he enjoyed them as a mental exercise, and while he eventually attained to a deep faith, the emotionalism and excesses of the frontier religion and the bitterness of sectarian rivalry must have been repellent to him, and were probably a cause of his lasting reluctance to affiliate with any sect.

Lincoln came to New Salem in late July, 1831. Long, lean, awkward, with big frame and coarsened hands, he was a typical youth of the American frontier. His total schooling did not amount to a year; but principally by his own efforts he had learned to write a clear, distinctive hand, and to read and cypher "to the rule of three." He had made his living as a laborer and river man. He came to New Salem to work as a clerk in Denton Offut's store and to run the mill, which Offut had rented. His first contacts were with the rougher element, with whom he speedily established himself. His courage and physical prowess commanded their respect, while his honesty and truthfulness soon won their confidence. The Clary's Grove boys became his staunch admirers, and followed and supported him in anything he did. As time passed he won the respect and admiration of the better element as well.

In the spring of 1832, when he had been in New Salem less than a year, the Black Hawk War broke out, and Lincoln and many of the other young men of the community, immediately volunteered. Already his popularity was such that he was elected captain of his company. He served for eighty days, enlisting as a

private when the term of enlistment of his company expired and it was mustered out. He saw no fighting, but from this, his only military experience, he learned something of soldiers and the soldier's life, the value of leadership, discipline, morale. Around the campfires he enhanced the reputation for story telling that he had already made. He wrestled with champions of other companies and won still greater admiration of his strength and athletic skill. His experience supplied him with a store of anecdotes. He met men whose friendship was valuable to him—John Calhoun, who later appointed him deputy surveyor; John T. Stuart, who became his law partner; John J. Hardin and other rising young Illinois politicians.

Returning from the war, Lincoln found himself out of a job, for Offut's store had failed. Before enlisting he had announced himself as a candidate for the state legislature, and he now plunged into his campaign. But he was not elected. He had lived in New Salem only a year, and was still relatively unknown outside of that community.

Lincoln pondered over what he should do. He thought of becoming a blacksmith, but decided against it; thought of studying law, but was afraid that with his deficient education it was useless to attempt it. Eventually he bought a half-interest in a store on credit. Soon he and his partner, William F. Berry, bought out one of their two rivals in the mercantile business and merged their two stores. But neither Lincoln nor Berry was cut out for a business career. The store failed, Berry died, and Lincoln was left with a burden of debt from which he was not free for fifteen years.

He was greatly discouraged, and in his autobiography, written in 1860, said that he was reduced to the elemental problem of securing bread to keep body and soul together. The easy way out would have been to move away and make a fresh start somewhere else, leaving his debts unpaid. But Lincoln remained. He did not blame the town for his failure, as many men would have done. He believed that if he could succeed anywhere he could do it at New Salem. He had no intention of evading his obligations, and he wished to remain with his friends.

Biographers and historians have accepted the idea that he had serious difficulty in making a living at New Salem. But this could hardly have been so. Except for the harassment of debt

Photo by Herbert Georg

THE ONSTOTT CABIN AND COOPER SHOP AT NEW SALEM

he was not bad off; for with his strength and skill and reputation for honesty he could have had no serious trouble getting work. Travelers in Sangamon County in the early thirties remarked time and again about the scarcity of laborers and the good wages paid to them. Patrick Shirreff, a Scotsman, for example, stated that "labor is scarce and highly remunerated. A good farming help obtains $120, an indifferent one $100 a year, with bed and board." He calculated that this was equivalent to eighty acres of land a year, and in proportion to the cost of living and land, about 800 times as much as English farm laborers got. Under such circumstances Lincoln could have had no difficulty earning a living, and certainly he could not have been in want. It is significant that in 1837, when he left New Salem, he owned a part interest in a forty-seven acre tract of land and two lots in Springfield.

Lincoln could make a living, but he was not content to remain a laborer. He was looking for a chance to better himself. In his spare time he took advantage of the opportunity to improve his education. In 1832, during his last months in Offut's store, he studied grammar. Mentor Graham, the schoolmaster, told him that John Vance, who lived north of New Salem, owned a copy of Kirkham's *Grammar,* and Lincoln walked six or eight miles to get it. He studied it assiduously, and with Graham's help mastered it. He studied history at New Salem, and his interest in literature, especially Shakespeare and Burns, was stimulated by Jack Kelso, at whose home he boarded during part of his residence. During the winter of 1832 he became a regular attendant at the meetings of the New Salem Debating Society. Back in Indiana he had sometimes stopped work to make extemporaneous speeches to stumps and corn stalks, and in Macon County, where he lived before coming to New Salem, he had discomfited two visiting politicians by an impromptu reply to their speeches. His efforts at New Salem were his first attempts at formal debate. The members of the society, who had expected only humorous remarks from him, were amazed at his ability.

By the spring of 1832, when he announced his candidacy for the legislature, he had already acquired the knack of terse and lucid statement which characterized his later style. J. G. Nicolay and John Hay, his war-time secretaries and biographers, who were more familiar with his later writings than anyone, said that the

circular which he addressed to the voters in this campaign was written almost precisely in "the style of his later years. The errors of grammar and construction which spring invariably from the effort to avoid redundancy of expression remained with him through life. He seemed to grudge the space required for necessary parts of speech. But his language was at twenty-two, as it was thirty years later, the simple and manly attire of his thought, with little attempt at ornament and none at disguise."

On May 7, 1833, Lincoln's ambition was gratified to some extent when he was appointed postmaster at New Salem. He held the position until the removal of the office to Petersburg on May 30, 1836. As postmaster he could read all the newspapers that came to the village, and at this time formed the habit of newspaper reading. This broadened his outlook and, continued through life, furnishes a partial explanation of his ability to understand the public mind. Financially the job was not much help to him. His salary depended upon the gross receipts of the office, which were small. No figures are available for the New Salem office; but from the receipts of some of the other Illinois offices at that time we can estimate that Lincoln probably received twenty-five or thirty dollars a year. He supplemented this by doing all sorts of odd jobs—splitting rails, helping at the mill, working in the fields, serving as local agent for the *Sangamo Journal,* tending store for Hill. On election days he often made a dollar by serving as clerk, and sometimes returned the poll book to the courthouse in Springfield for which service he was paid at the rate of twenty cents a mile, coming and returning.

In the autumn of 1833, he was appointed a deputy to the county surveyor, John Calhoun. Calhoun assigned him to the northern part of the county—what is now Menard and the southern part of Mason County. He continued as a surveyor probably until he left New Salem in 1837, certainly until December, 1836.

His positions as clerk, storekeeper, postmaster and surveyor gave him a wide acquaintance in the community, and in 1834, when he ran for the legislature a second time, he was elected easily. He was re-elected in 1836. During his second term his Whig colleagues made him the minority floor leader. At Vandalia, the state capital, his ambition was further stimulated. There he saw wealth, education, breeding, charm, things relatively

unknown to him. He met skillful politicians, able lawyers, distinguished men from all parts of the state. He heard good speeches and listened to arguments before the State Supreme Court and the Federal Court for the District of Illinois. His experience there was a liberal education, of the type he could not get from books. Small wonder that at the end of his first legislative session he returned to New Salem with his ambition fired, and renewed his studies with such determination that his friends were concerned for his health.

Before going to Vandalia he had decided to become a lawyer. For years he had been attracted by the law. Back in Indiana he had read the *Revised Statutes of Indiana,* and at New Salem had read the *Laws of Illinois.* In 1833 he bought a book of legal forms with the aid of which he drew up mortgages, wills and other legal instruments for his friends. He had even argued minor cases before the local justice of the peace. During the legislative campaign of 1834 John T. Stuart, a young lawyer in Springfield, encouraged him to study law and make it his profession. After the campaign he decided to do so, and as he said, "went at it in good earnest." At an auction in Springfield be bought a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries.* Other books he borrowed from Stuart, walking or riding to Springfield to get them. In December, 1836, he applied for a license to practice, and in March, 1837, the Supreme Court granted him a certificate of admission to the bar.

When Lincoln returned to New Salem from the legislative session of 1837 the decline of the village was well under way. He realized that there was no chance there for a legal or a larger political career. It was expected that the legislature would soon set off the northern part of Sangamon County as a separate county and that Petersburg would be the county seat. Several New Salem families had already moved there, or were planning to do so. Lincoln might have gone there too; but Springfield, twenty miles southeast of New Salem, which had just been chosen as the new state capital, offered even larger political and legal opportunities. Lincoln had many friends there. He had taken a leading part in having Springfield made the capital, and this action had increased his popularity. John T. Stuart was willing to take him as his law partner. On April 15, 1837, astride a borrowed horse, and with all

his personal possessions in his saddle bags, Lincoln moved to Springfield.

In his six years at New Salem Lincoln had gone far. He could justly take pride in his progress. He came there at twenty-two, an aimless pioneer youth. When he left at twenty-eight he was a recognized political leader not only in the village, but in the state. He had made valuable friendships in the county and the state at large. He had learned to think for himself, and to express himself with force, clarity and individuality. He had equipped himself to make a living with his brain instead of his hands.

At New Salem Lincoln found himself. His coming there freed him from the retarding influence of his family. The community was more diversified, more complex, more stimulating than those places where he spent his boyhood and youth. The activities and contacts of his New Salem years revealed the possibility of betterment and gave him some conception of his own capacity.

Lincoln's success as politician and President was largely due to the fact that he knew how the common man would think. This he learned in no small measure at New Salem, where, during part of his residence at least, he worked on common terms with the humblest of the villagers. He learned how and what the blacksmith thought, how the storekeeper, the saloon keeper, the farmhand, the cobbler viewed things. At no other period of his mature life did he have such intimate contact with the common people. And he took away with him an abiding understanding of them.

The rural background of Lincoln's New Salem years and of his boyhood and youth left a lasting impression on him. Many of the similes and metaphors which enrich his literary style smack of the countryside. His jokes and anecdotes had the flavor of the soil. Often in later life he clarified his ideas with rural analogies drawn from his New Salem experiences. "The horse, the dog, the ox, the chin fly, the plow, the hog, . . . became interpreters of his meaning, solvers of his problems in his great necessity, of making men understand and follow him."

The New Salem environment, typical of that of the West in general, offered opportunities which Lincoln would not have had in an older community. Humble origin and lack of schooling were no handicaps, for they were common deficiencies. A newcomer had no difficulty in establishing himself; for no one had been there

long, no propertied class had emerged, and social castes were unknown. Equality of opportunity was in large degree a fact, and democracy and nationalism were the political ideals.

Lincoln accepted these ideals, and benefitted by the opportunities that the frontier afforded. But at the same time he avoided the frontier's weaknesses or at least outgrew them with time. He became self-reliant without becoming boastful and without overestimating himself; analytical and conservative rather than opportunistic and impulsive. In a region where men sometimes made their own law, where informality prevailed, and where people were concerned with the present and the future rather than the past, he realized the value of law, and was respectful of form and traditions. At New Salem as in his later life his individuality stands out. Yet while becoming a leader of his fellows Lincoln never lost touch with them. He grew beyond his associates, but not away from them.

A FORGOTTEN HERO

General James Dougherty Henry

By Frank E. Stevens*

In one of those priceless treasures known as the Fergus Historical Series, numbered thirteen and on page thirty-six, the late Judge Joseph Gillespie had this to say of James Dougherty Henry:

"He fought nearly all the battles and gained all the victories of the campaign [Black Hawk War], contrary to the orders of his military superiors. He was truly and emphatically the Alpha and Omega of the war, and yet I am informed, that his name does not appear in the archives of the Government, as connected with its military affairs. He is as completely ignored as if he had never been born."

While writing a history of this Black Hawk War, I made it a point to rectify this monstrous wrong so far as was humanly possible in a work of that general character, but it was out of the question comprehensively to do justice to a subject so outstanding as James D. Henry and attempt to place the man in the position that was his in Illinois annals. And so I laid down my pen to resume it when not interrupted nor interdicted by the tyranny of business engagements that compel submission from the most rebellious. I have waited and I've waited patiently for my opportunity that has come tonight, one hundred years after the death of the almost forgotten subject.

His is but another story, so common with our pioneer leaders, of privation; long and painful struggles against staggering odds, with this tragedy added: When the good ship Illinois appeared in the offing to take its new master aboard, the master lay dying in New Orleans.

In the presentation of this story of a remarkable life, I am placed under special obligation to C. E. Gillespie of Edwardsville, Illinois, the publications of the Illinois State Historical Society, the *Sangamo Journal*, and J. W. Fling and the late W. E. Sandham of Wyoming, Illinois.

* Frank E. Stevens is the author of *The Black Hawk War* (1903), the *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (1923-24), and numerous papers on various phases of the history of Illinois.

Henry was born in the state of Pennsylvania, in the year 1797.[1] Just where is unknown. The subject of his birth was of a nature so sensitive to him, during all his lifetime that reference to it never was made. It so embarrassed him that he avoided meeting women on every occasion when possible. At the reception and banquet and ball given in his honor[2] for services rendered in the Black Hawk War, he declined entering the room where the ladies were assembled.

His father is said to have been a Major Henry in the U. S. regular army and his mother was named Dougherty. Both names were given him therefore, by his mother. He was raised in indigence and obscurity. Judge Gillespie tells us he never had one solitary advantage before reaching manhood. He never attended school for a single day.[3] He was apprenticed early to a shoemaker and followed that trade until he left it in Edwardsville to take up merchandising.

To get away from a life so drear and to gratify a craving for military knowledge and experience, young Henry, while but a boy, enlisted in the second war with Great Britain,[4] participating among other engagements in the battles of the Thames and Lundy's Lane. That his first military efforts should be directed against the same enemy as in his last battle, the renegade Black Hawk, nineteen years later, seems like a remarkable coincidence.[5]

Boy that he was, he served through the war and obtained a reasonable knowledge of military life and tactics of which he was so passionately fond.

Judge Gillespie has said that Henry grew to be six feet in height and was powerfully built otherwise; that his gentleness was that of the lamb, yet he had an ungovernable temper which when unloosed passed all restraint and with his powerful physique, made him an antagonist that no ordinary man, single-handed, could contend with.

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[1] *Sangamo Journal,* April 25, 1834. Phillips in his oration placed his birth in 1799. Another placed it at 1800, but Gillespie placed the year at 1797. The battle of the Thames was fought in 1813 which would make him sixteen if born in 1797. This is more likely.

[2] In August, 1832.

[3] *Sangamo Journal,* April 25, 1834, quoting Phillips' oration.

[4] Judge Gillespie fixed Henry's age at fifteen when he enlisted in 1812 which would make his birth year 1797.

[5] Black Hawk was with the British at the Battle of the Thames but ran away and returned to his reservation, the minute he saw his chief, Tecumseh, fall.

After the war he left Pennsylvania and went to Delaware, Ohio, where he entered a shoemaker's shop. But in 1816 he had a fight and so badly whipped three or four brother shoemakers, in the shop where he was working, that his immediate departure was necessitated. Taking a keel-boat down the Ohio, thence up the Mississippi to the mouth of Wood River, he there disembarked. From this point and time we lose him until the year 1820, when he appeared in Edwardsville.[6] Brink's *History of Madison County* fixes the date at 1822, but Judge Gillespie, who knew Henry more intimately than any other person, has fixed the date at 1820, and there it should rest. He entered immediately a shop to follow his trade of shoemaker. He was a good workman; he was industrious; he was thoroughly honorable and gave to his job the best there was in him, yet he was unhappy. He desired to rise above his shoemaker's job and make a place for himself in the world, and when presently he learned it had become known that he was an illegitimate child, that knowledge contributed to the distress of a naturally gloomy temperament[7] by causing him to feel that the misfortune imperiled the gratification of any ambition no matter how modest. He believed he possessed as many manly qualities as another; he believed it was in him to achieve success above the field that shoemaking afforded, yet he feared the dreadful accident of his birth doomed him. Nevertheless, knowing the accident was none of his creation he proposed to begin at the bottom, force the fighting and make for himself a place among men. He possessed an insatiable thirst for learning. This he proposed to get as a starting point. But here again fate frowned; he could not leave his work which provided the meal ticket. Presently, however, fate relented by throwing into his path a lad named Joseph Gillespie, who was apt and who was prevailed on by Henry to read to him history, Henry's passion, during working hours. This young Gillespie did, following with Brown's *Dictionary of the Bible*. As young Gillespie read and presented Caesar and Napoleon, Henry discussed their characters and their conquests. Alexander the Great, however, above all others he favored, and soon indeed did Joe Gillespie learn that a military life was the life coveted by Henry; birth he believed could not influence the world against a

[6] Gillespie in *Fergus Historical Series*, No. 13, p. 35.
[7] Unfortunately he was a thorough Calvinist; that added to the man's handicaps the dreadful blight of the fatalist. *Ibid.*

military figure once established. But he must have learning and very soon it became apparent his ambition could not suffer the restraints of just listening. He thought and acted quickly and as it turned out, wisely, by entering a night school that his young and faithful friend, Joe Gillespie, was attending. This school was taught by William Barrett.

As the man became better known and his military tastes, then common in the new Illinois communities, had been learned, men of the same spirit became drawn to him and presently when he proposed the formation of a military company in Edwardsville he found no trouble in drawing a full enlistment. This company he drilled carefully by which experience, added to his experience acquired in the War of 1812, he mastered a respectable knowledge of practical and theoretical military tactics. His company became popular, his ambition soared and he craved advancement in its regular channels. But in his struggle for advancement he must first meet one adversary whose subjugation was to require all of his strength of body and of purpose; all of his resolution and tact; this adversary was himself. To illustrate the almost invincible power and brutality of this adversary I have but to recall one unfortunate incident occurring on the streets of Edwardsville. It does not add lustre to his name except when one considers that eventually, he conquered this adversary,—himself. It was a frightful exhibition of his violent temper, the last of which we have any knowledge. The story is to be found in the history of Madison County by Brink. He had become enraged at a negro named Jarrett, who belonged to one Joseph Conway, and at once all the revengeful and uncontrollable passion of the man was aroused.—almost to a fiendish degree. He claimed the negro had insulted him and on the poor black man he inflicted a devilish revenge. He caught the unfortunate negro in a stable from which he dragged him into the street. Stripping him of his clothing except his trousers, Henry tied him to the end of a horse rack and deliberately prepared to administer the most brutal punishment that mortal man ever administered to another. Henry had procured five stout hickory withes. He laid a sword and a pistol on a horse block close by; he held a dagger in one hand, while with the other he began to belabor the black man with the hickory withes. When the victim drew back on the rope and begged for mercy, Henry

would draw the edge of his dagger across the negro's bare abdomen and threaten to cut him open if he did not keep still and submit quietly to the punishment.

Court was in session at the time and it is said a hundred men witnessed the brutal affair, all of whom were too cowardly to interfere. In the crowd was the sheriff and other court officials of the law. After using up two or three of his withes, the wife of one Rowland P. Allen heard the screams of the poor negro and she ran to his rescue. Appealing in vain to the mob, numerous enough to smother Henry when acting en masse, to rescue the victim, she returned quickly to her house, seized a carving knife, returned to the scene, cut the cords that bound the poor wretch and permitted him to escape. While she was leading him away, Henry remarked that a woman might tie his hands, but it would not have been well for any man to attempt it. This diabolical act disclosed a dark and seamy side of the Henry character, but the admission compels reconsideration after he has been watched awhile in his fight to conquer himself. The struggle was a quiet one but none the less a bitter one and ended in glorious victory for his manhood. It was one of those quiet struggles much the same as the one up on Rock River when some of his men attempted the tactics that were employed by the pusillanimous troops after the Stillman battle. Quietly but firmly he ordered the officers to accept his orders or accept the judgment of a court martial and insubordination ceased. This time the firmness of Henry cowed the officers who had remonstrated and made of his men a victorious army that won all the victories of the war, including the victory won at the mouth of the Bad Axe that sent Black Hawk into permanent retirement and forever ended Indian wars in Illinois.

During his residence in Edwardsville, Henry never overcame his sensitiveness and diffidence, and at times while brooding he would seek relief in a "spree," during which if angered, he became almost desperately reckless of consequences. But immediately afterward he resumed his fight against himself with redoubled energy and in due time, he overcame the dreadful habit and was left master of himself.

In the effort to reach a stage above the shoemaker's trade and as others have said, to get away from the wearing effect on his health caused by the sedentary habits of the shoemaker's bench, he

left it to engage in a mercantile business which he followed for a time with reasonable success. But he could not resist the sinister attacks of the mind that drove him into brooding over his misfortune and when presently an opportunity was given him to leave Edwardsville and remove to Springfield and better himself, he did so in the year 1826.[8] There one Joshua Atwater established him as partner in a merchandising business. But reasonably successful as he was, the mania, shall I say, for a military career, took him away from his business career in the summer of 1827, when the Red Bird insurrection or Winnebago War, threatened the entire mining district of southwestern Michigan Territory and northwestern Illinois. The U. S. troops at Prairie du Chien and nearby militia were called, but fearing the inadequacy of the numbers an appeal was made to Governor Edwards for assistance. Without an instant's delay, Governor Edwards responded July 14, 1827,[9] by issuing an order to so much of General Hanson's brigade as was located on the east side of Illinois River, except the 20th Regiment, to take immediate steps for service. Should any part of the frontier south of Rock River be found invested by the savages, or seriously threatened, the officer in command of the detachment was directed, without delay to go to the support of the place and without further orders.

On the same day Governor Edwards sent a communication to Colonel Neale, of the 20th Regiment, composed largely of troops from Sangamon County, to accept the service of any number of mounted volunteers, not exceeding 600, who would equip themselves, find their own subsistence and continue in service thirty days unless sooner discharged, and Colonel Neale was ordered to get the troops to Fort Clark (Peoria) as soon as possible; there organize and march northwesterly with all possible expedition, to the assistance of the settlers at Galena who seemed the most exposed. Once there, if a United States officer of superior command should be found, Colonel Neale was ordered to report to such superior officer and receive orders. The officer next in command after Neale, Lt. Col. Samuel T. Mathews, who was elected to that office on reaching Peoria, was ordered to take immediate steps for drafting from "your regiment, according to law and with the least possible delay, six companies of infantry, which are to be

[8] Some have said the year was 1827, but it was 1826.
[9] Edwards, *History of Illinois*, p. 220.

held in readiness to march at a moment's warning, to any frontier that may be invaded. . . ."[10] Henry was one of the first to enlist when recruiting began by General Neale under the instructions of Governor Edwards, in Sangamon and Morgan counties. Three companies were raised in Morgan County,[11] and commanded as follows: One of them by Capt. Wiley B. Green, who was first sheriff of Morgan County, one hundred strong. The other officers of this company were John Wyatt, First Lieutenant, James Evans, Second Lieutenant, and Jesse Rube, Orderly Sergeant. Another company was commanded by Capt. William Gordon, with an enrollment of about forty men. Nathan Winters was First Lieutenant. The other company was commanded by Captain Rogers.[12]

John Carroll Power in his *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County,* says:

> The news soon spread among the settlers, and upon a call from Governor Edwards, four companies of infantry and one of cavalry were made up in Sangamon County. The cavalry company was commanded by Edward Mitchell and the four infantry companies by Captains Constant, Reuben Brown, Achilles Morris and Bowlin(g) Green. The whole under command of Colonel Tom M. Neale, with James D. Henry as Adjutant, (the latter at that time was sheriff of Sangamon County),[13] marched to Peoria, where the regiment was more fully organized, and continued to Galena. Before their arrival in the Indian country, Red Bird, with six of his warriors, voluntarily gave themselves up to the U. S. forces under General Atkinson, to save their tribe from the miseries of war. Thus ended the campaign, and the Sangamon County soldiers returned to their homes.

Some authorities contend that one of Sangamon's companies was commanded by a Captain Smith. A William Smith of Springfield, was made quartermaster, which might mean that a captain of that name was promoted and one of the four captains above named was promoted. After reaching the mining district, a Captain Smith is named as one of the officers selected for detached duty, so that it is reasonably certain there was a Captain Smith from Sangamon County. The only muster roll preserved is one of Captain James M. Strode of Galena, found in *The Adjutant General's Reports,* vol. 9, page 187.

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[10] Edwards, *History of Illinois,* p. 220.
[11] *Transactions, Illinois State Historical Society,* 1907, p. 266.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 267.
[13] Mistake. Henry did not become sheriff until 1828.

Arrived in Peoria, Samuel T. Mathews was elected Lieutenant-Colonel, and Elijah Iles was elected Major. James D. Henry was made Adjutant; Dr. Gershom Jayne, Surgeon; William Smith of Springfield, Quartermaster, and William Thomas of Jacksonville, Quartermaster's Sergeant.

Constant raining and soft and spongy ground made marching difficult, even toilsome, and Rock River was not reached until the fifth day.[14] These rains made the crossing of Rock River problematical, but a point where the city of Dixon now stands was found, which provided an easy crossing by fording and swimming the horses. The regiment camped on the north bank until next day, Monday. Thenceforward the ground was dry, and on Monday morning the march northward was resumed. On Tuesday, by forced marching the troops reached Gratiot's Grove, fifteen miles from Galena. Finding no provisions there, a march was made to White Oak Springs. At this point no U. S. officer was found, whereupon Captains Smith and Rodgers were despatched to Prairie du Chien with a report from Colonel Neale to the commanding officer. These officers lost their way, and after an absence of several days returned to camp without finding Prairie du Chien. At this time, with the thirty-day enlistment soon to expire, and all danger having disappeared with the surrender of Red Bird, Colonel Neale discharged the troops at Galena and they returned home.[15]

General Henry entered this service fully expecting the war would be long drawn out, affording him thereby an opportunity for lifting himself out of the humdrum commonplaces of business life already grown tiresome to him. But measureably at least he received a compensatory reward by being elected sheriff of Sangamon County, in 1828, and with practical unanimity. The office of sheriff was the most prominent in the county and Sangamon County was one of the largest counties in the state. The sheriff was ex-officio collector of taxes. It carried a quasi-military duty

[14] The usual post mortems followed this little campaign and were debated furiously by partisans. One was started by William Thomas of Jacksonville, who questioned the claim of Galena, that notice of the insurrection had been sent to Governor Edwards by Galena messengers. Galena's claim was right. Another concerned the route pursued by Neale from Peoria to Dixon's Ferry (established as Ogee's Ferry in 1828). The route was through the head of Boyd's Grove, over the town site of Providence, a few rods west of Wyanet and by Red Oak Grove to Dixon's. Kellogg's trail was practically identical with it. When in 1828, John Dixon obtained the contract to carry mail from Peoria to Galena, he followed it.

[15] Transactions, 1907, p. 267.

and he found much satisfaction in its tenure. Pride in it too had its influence in the upbuilding feature of Henry's life. As peace officer of the county, he felt the necessity of rising to its requirements and he met them every one.

Early in 1831, the Sacs with some of the Foxes under Black Hawk, crossed Rock River and began destroying the property of the settlers, at and near the mouth of Rock River. Some forty of these settlers sent a protest to Governor Reynolds who lost no time in asking volunteers[16] to take the field and drive the Indians back to their reservation. Nearly twice as many volunteers answered the summons as were needed. At Beardstown Governor Reynolds decided to keep them all. Moving over to Rushville, almost the first duty performed by the governor, was to appoint Henry one of his aids. Moreover after the brigade had been formed into two regiments, a minor odd battalion and a spy battalion, Henry was elected colonel of the First Regiment; it was composed of companies commanded by Captains William F. Elkin, Achilles Morris, Thomas Carlin, John Lorton, Samuel C. Pierce and Samuel Smith. Joseph Duncan, later governor of the state, was appointed brigadier general and he at once assumed command of the army, 1,600 strong, which left Rushville[17] for General Gaines' headquarters. Later, it reached the old Sac village only to find the Indians had deserted it. Later the men marched to a spot, now the city of Rock Island, and camped several days until the danger had blown over and the Indians had signed an agreement never to recross the Mississippi without the consent of the President of the United States or the Governor of Illinois. Governor Ford, who was a private in Whiteside's battalion, is especially severe with Gaines for his stupid manner of handling this campaign. The troops were out of patience at the escape of the enemy and in repassing the Indian village on the march homeward they burned it to the ground.

Henry was disappointed to find another vision of war disappear, but at the same time he had been noticed so substantially and his talents had been so substantially recognized that he returned to his job of sheriff with more than a little satisfaction. Springfield was growing rapidly; at the election of 1830 he had been re-elected sheriff and with the possible thought that Black Hawk might

[16] May 27, 1831.
[17] June 15, 1831, Stevens, *Black Hawk War.*

create other disturbances in which he might figure we find Henry with his face directly toward the future with complaisance.

After signing the treaty of 1831 and retiring to its reservation west of the Mississippi, the Black Hawk crowd resumed its hateful influence for evil by planning as dastardly an outrage as ever disgraced Indian annals, by making an attack on the Menominees.

In July, 1831, a body of Menominees went to Fort Crawford on business with the government. On the 30th a celebration was characterized by whiskey drinking which as usual in such cases placed the Menominees in a state of helplessness. This crowd of Sac Indians watched their prey, the Menominees, and on the early morning of the 31st pounced upon the sleeping Menominees and murdered, as some authorities have said, twenty-five of them in cold blood and wounded others. The Menominees tried ineffectually to give chase. At once the government authorities took steps to secure from the Sacs the surrender of the actual murderers. Atkinson had been directed to make this demand and on April first, 1832, he received this order to leave Jefferson Barracks for Fort Armstrong there to hold a council with Indians and demand the surrender of the murderers.

On April 8th, he actually started on the steamboat *Enterprise* with six companies, 220 men, of the Sixth Regiment, U. S. Infantry. On the 10th, he had reached the rapids of the Des Moines. On the 12th he reached Fort Armstrong where he learned that Black Hawk once more had actually crossed into Illinois with his followers somewhere near the mouth of the Iowa River and started for the village of his friend, the Prophet, once more to make war on the whites. On the 13th Atkinson met Keokuk and Wapello, factional heads of the Sac and Fox, with their followers. Here the surrender of the murderers was demanded and here the Indians present were asked to seek and if possible, by persuasion, to secure the return of the Black Hawk band to the west side of the Mississippi where by the treaty of 1831, Black Hawk had agreed to remain. Atkinson was told by the Indians present that all of them were friendly, but that it would be impossible to secure the return of the Black Hawk band. Atkinson was told furthermore to adjourn the meeting to the 19th and the murderers would be delivered to him. Accordingly the council adjourned to meet again on the 19th.

Upon learning the seriousness of the situation Atkinson on the 13th despatched a letter to Governor Reynolds reciting the dangers ahead and asking the Governor in all haste to summon the state militia at once to act with the regulars in driving Black Hawk back home.

At the conclusion of the council Atkinson at once started for Fort Crawford to get reinforcements and to spread news of the possible danger through the mining district. Fort Winnebago, among other points, was notified and asked to render all needed assistance to the settlers. On the 19th Atkinson had returned to Fort Armstrong with Lt. Col. Zachary Taylor and his men, and the council with Keokuk, Wapello and the other Sac and Fox was resumed. Here three young men, of the murderers, were surrendered and here again inability to influence Black Hawk was asserted. Up to and including April 24th Atkinson had sent embassies to talk with Black Hawk, but that Indian refused to listen. On the 24th two young Sac Indians were sent to him with a mild talk. But here again Black Hawk refused to listen to their efforts to dissuade him from his foolish enterprise. Black Hawk answered that his heart was bad; furthermore he proposed going up Rock River about sixty miles to establish a home and make corn and if disturbed, he would fight. With such an ultimatum, nothing remained but war.

On the 20th, upon receiving Atkinson's message, Governor Reynolds issued his proclamation calling for an indefinite number of troops to concentrate at Beardstown. After organization[18] it was his expectation that they would march to Dixon's Ferry, overtake Black Hawk and compel his return west of the Mississippi. Had this course been pursued, the Black Hawk War would have evaporated. In addition to his proclamation, the Governor ordered a special detachment of 200 men under Major Isaiah Stillman from Fulton County to protect the country to the north and west.

On the 20th, Richard M. Young, Benjamin Mills and James M. Strode, while investigating the possible troubles, wrote from Dixon's Ferry a letter to the Governor, requesting instant attention

[18] Once organized, Samuel Whiteside became commander of the forces, with the title, "Brigade General." Nathaniel Buckmaster was second in command, with the title, "Brigade Major." There were four regiments: the First of six companies; the Second of nine companies; the Third of six companies; the Fourth of four companies. There were two spy battalions: Henry's of four companies, the other of three companies. There was also one foot battalion.

to the dangers and on receipt of the letter the Governor issued an order to Maj. David Bailey of Tazewell County, to take his command of 200 rangers and patrol the country between his home country and Dixon's Ferry.

On the same day, the 20th, the same three citizens at Dixon's Ferry sent to Gen. T. M. Neale and Col. J. D. Henry of Springfield, a similar letter that was published in the *Sangamo Journal*, April 26th, that refers to its receipt as of "last Friday." Both Neale and Henry already had gone forward to Beardstown. This important communication reads as follows:

Dixon's upon Rock River.

Gentlemen:—

We have, from an imperative and deep conviction of its necessity, been led to address a pressing request to his Excellency, Governor Reynolds, to send to *this point an immediate force* of at least two hundred armed men for the protection of the settlers in this section. It is a central point, not only for the protection of the whites, but for the interruption of the intercourse between the hostile Sacs and the Pottowatomies above, who, it is pretty certain, will join them. Much distress upon the frontiers is inevitable, and we hope it will not be mingled with acts of a more horrible description. We have no doubt the Governor will make the requisition in compliance with our request, and respectfully suggest to you the propriety of consulting the critical necessity of the case, by anticipating the order and furnishing the required number of men for the protection of the inhabitants, by the occupation of this post. *Remember, it cannot be carried into execution too soon. War is certain,* and the inhabitants here are entirely at the mercy of the savages.

With great respect,
Your obedient servants,
Richard M. Young,
Benjamin Mills,
James M. Strode.

GEN. T. M. NEALE AND
COL. J. D. HENRY.

We understand that Gov. Reynolds has ordered a detachment of troops from the upper counties to march immediately for Dixon's Ferry on Rock River.

This important message forwarded by the most distinguished men in Illinois indicated the confidence they placed in Henry as the supreme military man of the hour. He was appealed to for leadership because it was believed implicitly that he was the one

man who once and forever would rid the country of Black Hawk and the perils of Indian warfare, as indeed he would have done by cutting red tape, marching cross-country and bagging Black Hawk before that heedless creature could have hired somebody to think for him. Subsequent events justified the conclusion and subsequent opinion backed it up. At the moment, he urged that the men would better suffer a couple of days' hunger rather than suffer endless hardships later. But red tape decreed a march for Yellow Banks instead, for expected supplies, and strategy was abandoned for something to eat. Henry's command was but a lowly major of a spy battalion composed of four companies.

But the supplies did not arrive from St. Louis on the day the troops reached Yellow Banks nor for four long days thereafter, so that the same hunger was suffered and the cut-off march to Dixon had been lost. Then, instead of marching to Fort Armstrong for food, a detachment was sent to bring it that cost more time. At last Fort Armstrong was reached and after further delays the order to march for Dixon's Ferry was given: the militia upstream along the left bank of Rock River, Atkinson's regulars and the foot battalion up the right bank and in boats, expecting to meet the militia at the Prophet's village.

By the time the mounted militia had plowed through the bogs, the mud and the mire along Rock River and reached the Prophet's village, Atkinson had not arrived and the Prophet and his band had left to join Black Hawk. For this act of "discourtesy" the troops burned the village to the ground and then proceeded upstream for a few miles when, in obedience to a sudden impulse for haste, the order was given to stack all provisions on the ground and leave them for the wolves or the enemy to devour. Starting with this act of stupidity it is easy to guess what the future held for this campaign. In the face of it all it is easy also, to conjecture the future until at last almost literally Henry applied the lash and brought order and victory out of insubordination, ignorance, laziness and chaos. Stillman and Bailey's battalions reached Dixon's on the evening of May 10th. The main army reached there May 12th, and Atkinson was droning his way up the river while Black Hawk was holding dog feasts for other Indians thirty-five miles away in the effort to gain recruits.

Impatient to capture Black Hawk according to the rules of the rabble, Stillman and Bailey were permitted to start out Sunday morning the 13th to get Black Hawk. The luckless errand that hurled the men back to Dixon's Ferry threw the entire army into a panic on the morning of May 15th and still Atkinson was dawdling along the river. In the uproar following, the men were demanding their discharge. Henry as much as all other forces combined persuaded the troops to be patient for a little while, at least until Governor Reynolds might send messengers over the state to recruit another army.

Naturally, after the butchery of their companions at Stillman's battle, it would be expected that the army at Dixon would rise in their wrath and march night and day until Black Hawk had been caught; but this crowd could not be moved by such considerations.

On the instant Governor Reynolds issued his call for 2,000 more volunteers to concentrate at Hennepin at once. Later in the morning General Whiteside marched the army to Stillman's battlefield and buried the dead. Returning to Dixon's the troops were joined by Atkinson. Provisions had run low; protests loud and long were made for leaving the food back near the Prophet's village and demands were made again to be discharged. Henry among others labored tirelessly to keep the men in line until the new levy of troops could reach the scene and with some success until word came of the murder of fifteen whites at the Indian Creek settlement. After that, nothing could restrain them. At Ottawa the troops were mustered out of service, but enough patriotic men remained to enlist in various organizations to protect the frontier while the other troops were getting into the field.

One of the companies was organized by Capt. Alexander White and here is a story in connection with this company I never have seen published: Abraham Lincoln had been captain of a company and after his discharge he wanted to be captain of another company and so enlisted in the White company on May 26, 1832, but when White instead of Lincoln was elected captain, Lincoln, in a peevish mood for his non-election, the next day, with Henry and John T. Stuart, enlisted in the company of Elijah Iles, all of them as privates. I have a voluminous correspondence on this subject in

which members of the Lincoln company make the statement that the story is true.

Henry's enlistment was on May 27th. In securing this interim organization he did superhuman work. His services were appreciated and at once he was elected its major and at almost the same hour he was promoted to become its lieutenant colonel to protect the frontier. Of this Fifth Regiment Jacob Fry was made colonel. The Iles company was recruited for twenty days' service and its duty was to march at once to Galena and then march back to Dixon's from which point they were ordered to meet the new army on the Illinois River at Fort Wilbourn that had been substituted for Hennepin. In the important duties of this company Henry acted a conspicuous part as Captain Iles has written in his book, *Early Life and Times,* published in 1883, which I am copying. After casting bullets and getting their guns in order the company started for Dixon's Ferry. St. Vrain and his companions had just been murdered between Dixon's and Galena and it was expected the march would be a perilous one. But here are Iles' own words:

> Gen. Atkinson then called on me and wanted to know how I felt about taking the trip; that he was exceedingly anxious to open communication with Galena, and to find out, if possible, the whereabouts of the Indians before the new troops arrived. I answered the general that myself and men were getting rusty and were anxious to have something to do, and that nothing would please us better than to be ordered out on an expedition; that I would find out how many of my men had good horses and were otherwise well equipped, and what time we wanted to prepare for the trip. I called on him again at sunset[19] and reported that I had about fifty men well equipped and eager, and that we wanted one day to make preparations. He said go ahead and he would prepare our orders.
>
> The next day [the 5th] was a busy day running bullets and getting our flint locks in order—we had no percussion locks then. Gen. Henry, one of my privates, who had been promoted to the position of major of the companies, volunteered to go with us.[20] I considered him a host, as he had served as lieutenant in the war of 1812, under Gen. Scott, was in the battle of Lundy's Lane and in several other battles. He was a good drill officer, and could aid me much. Mr. Lincoln, our late president, was a private in my company.

[19] *Sketches of Early Life and Times,* by Major Elijah Iles, pp. 45 *et seq.*

[20] The Iles muster roll shows that Henry enlisted as private and then was "elected Major; promoted Lieut. Col. May 31."

After Gen. Atkinson handed me my orders, and my men were mounted and ready for the trip, I felt proud of them, and was confident of our success, although numbering only forty-eight. Several good men failed to go, as they had gone down to the foot of the Illinois Rapids[21] to aid in bringing up the boats of army supplies. We wanted to be as little encumbered as possible, and took nothing that could be dispensed with, other than blankets, tin cups, coffee pots, canteens, a wallet of bread, and some fat side meat, which we ate raw or broiled.

When we arrived at Rock River [on the 7th] we found Col. Taylor on the opposite side, in a little fort built of prairie sod.[22] He sent an officer in a canoe to bring me over. I said to the officer that I would come over as soon as I got my men in camp. I knew of a good spring half a mile above, and I determined to camp at it. After the men were in camp I called on Gen. Henry, and he accompanied me. On meeting Col. Taylor (he looked like a man born to command) he seemed a little piqued that I did not come over and camp with him. I told him we felt just as safe as if quartered in his one-horse fort; and besides, I knew what his orders would be, and wanted to try the mettle of my men before starting on the perilous trip I knew he would order. He said the trip was perilous, and that since the murder of the six men all communication with Galena had been cut off, and it might be besieged; that he wanted me to proceed to Galena, and that he would have my orders for me in the morning, and asked what outfit I wanted. I answered nothing but coffee, side meat, and bread.

In the morning[23] my orders were to collect and bury the remains of the six men murdered, proceed to Galena, make a careful search for the signs of Indians, and find out whether they were aiming to escape by crossing the river below Galena, and get all information at Galena of their probable whereabouts before the new troops were ready to follow them.

John Dixon, who kept a house of entertainment here and had sent his family to Galena for safety, joined us and hauled our wallets of corn and grub in his wagon, which was a great help. Lieut. Harris, U. S. army, also joined us. I now had fifty men to go with me on the march. I detailed two to march on the right, two on the left, and two in advance, to act as look-outs to prevent a suprise. They were to keep in full view of us and to remain out until we camped for the night. Just at sundown the first day, while we were at lunch, our advance scouts came in under whip and reported Indians.

[21] Fort Wilbourn, close by the present Peru.
[22] Mistake. It was made of logs and a sod embankment was thrown up around a 300 ft. square, around it.
[23] June 8th.

We bounced to our feet, and having a full view of the road for a long distance, could see a large body coming tward us. All eyes were turned to John Dixon, who, as the last one dropped out of sight coming over a ridge, pronounced them Indians. I stationed my men in a ravine crossing the road, where anyone approaching could not see us until within thirty yards; the horses I had driven back out of sight in a valley. I asked Gen. Henry to take command; he said no, stand at your post, and walked along the line talking to the men in a low, calm voice. Lieut. Harris, U. S. A., seemed much agitated; he ran up and down the line and exclaimed, "Captain, we will catch hell." He had horse pistols, belt pistols, and doubled-barrelled gun. He would pick the flints, reprime, and laid the horse pistols at his feet. When we got all ready he passed along the line slowly, and seeing the nerves of the men all quiet — after Gen. Henry's talk to them — said, "Captain, we are safe; we can whip five hundred Indians." Instead of Indians they proved to be the command of Gen. Dodge, from Galena, of one hundred and fifty men, *en route* to find out what had become of Gen. Atkinson's army, as since the murder of the six men communication had been stopped for more than ten days. My look-out at the top of the hill did not notify us, and we were not undeceived until they got within thirty steps of us. My men then raised a yell and ran to finish their lunch.

Next morning,[24] in passing into a grove of timber, my front scouts again came under whip and reported Indians. I asked where. They pointed to my two scouts on the right, trying to catch an Indian pony; one had on a red shirt, and they mistook them for Indians. These two men had been in Stillman's defeat, and as their horses were weak and it was easier to march out of line, I had detailed them to go in the road in front. I now ordered them to the rear and to drop behind as far as they chose, and detailed two other men, on whom I could rely, to take the advance.

When we got within fifteen miles of Galena, on Apple River, we found a stockade filled with women and children and a few men, all terribly frightened. The Indians had shot at and chased two men that afternoon, who made their escape to the stockade. They insisted on our quartering in the fort, but instead we camped one hundred yards outside, and slept, what little sleep we did get, with our guns in our arms. Gen. Henry did not sleep, but drilled my men all night so the moment they were called they would bounce to their feet and stand in two lines, the front ready to fire and fall back to reload while the others stepped forward and took

[24] June 9th.

their places. They were called up a number of times, and we got but little sleep.

We arrived at Galena the next day,[25] and found the citizens prepared to defend the place. They were glad to see us, as it had been so long since they had heard from the army. The few Indians prowling about Galena and murdering were simply there as a ruse.

On our return from Galena, near the forks of the Apple River and Gratiot roads we could see Gen. Dodge on the Gratiot road on his return from Rock River. His six scouts had discovered my two men that I had allowed to drop in the rear. Having weak horses they had fallen in the rear about two miles, and each took the other to be Indians, and such an exciting race I never saw until they got sight of my company; then they came to a sudden halt, and after looking at us a few moments wheeled their horses and gave up the chase. My two men did not know but that they were Indians until they came up with us and shouted, "Indians!" They had thrown away their wallets and guns and used their ramrods as whips.

The few houses on the road that usually accommodated the travel, were all standing but vacant as we went. On our return we found them all burned by the Indians. On my return to the Illinois River I reported to Gen. Atkinson, saying that from all we could learn the Indians were aiming to escape by going north with the intention of crossing the Mississippi River above Galena.

At Fort Wilbourn, the point on the Illinois River where the Iles company was mustered out, practically the entire company re-enlisted in the company of Capt. Jacob M. Early and at once marched back to Dixon's Ferry. Henry among the number enlisted June 16th as a private in the Early company, but on the same day[26] he was elected Brigadier-General of the Third Brigade.[27] The other officers of the regiment so far as known were, aid to Henry, Alexander P. Field; Brigade Inspector, Murray McConnel; Brigade Paymaster, Cornelius Hook; Brigade Wagonmaster, Nathan Hussey; Assistant Brigade Quartermasters, N. H. Johnston and Milton

[25] June 10th.

[26] Some authorities place the date of Henry's election at June 20.

[27] "This morning the election of Brigadier General for the Third Brigade took place and James D. Henry was elected by an unanimous vote. The Third Brigade commanded by Gen. Henry is 1,300 strong. The other brigades contain about a thousand men each. Gen. Atkinson has honored our little company of Sangamo invincibles with being commanded in person by himself. We are not therefore attached to any regiment. The company is commanded by Jacob M. Earley." (Lincoln's company.) Letter written from Fort Wilbourn by a member of the company and appearing in the *Sangamo Journal*, June 28, 1832. The writer calls Fort Wilbourn "the foot of the Rapids."

B. Roberts. Henry's selection to command the Third Brigade was made in response to the overwhelming demand for a real soldier to be at its head.

Gen. Alexander Posey of the First Brigade, had had much to do with Indians. Street, a son-in-law, was the Indian agent at Fort Crawford, for the United States. The name, Posey, was an old and honorable one and commanded the highest respect.

Milton K. Alexander, of the Second Division, was widely known from a civilian standpoint. But Henry was the soldier. Upon every occasion where responsibility was exacted and expected, Henry had filled every expectation. Though entering the campaign as an officer, he had enlisted as a private in the Iles emergency company and the Early company ,his devotion to duty was that unselfish.

Up to this time, it might be said truthfully that the privates had run the war to suit themselves and naturally Black Hawk may have begun to think himself superior in capacity to run a war against men who would run away as was the case at Stillman's battle. But with the introduction of Henry as a Brigadier-General not one minute of time was lost in learning that he was commander.

Henry's brigade left Fort Wilbourn on June 23rd for Dixon's Ferry at noon, camping out that night eight miles distant. The second night the brigade camped at the "Winnebago Inlet" twelve miles from Dixon's Ferry. The next evening at ten o'clock, June 25th, it reached the Ferry. On that day, Major Dement fought his battle at Kellogg's Old Place with the Indians led by Black Hawk in person.[28] This knowledge made it desirable once more for intelligent speed to give him battle at the earliest moment. But the wily savage was not to be drawn into a battle with such a superior force and he avoided it by quickly and quietly withdrawing his forces to the Lake Koshkonong country. His withdrawal was so stealthy that he deceived Shabbona and Billy Caldwell who were leading seventy-five friendly Pottowatomies and who just then were encamped at the mouth of Sycamore Creek and to whom Henry had sent the regiment of Colonel Fry to act with them in any emergency and to give countenance to those friendly Indians in supporting the whites. Even the guess of the Indians as to

[28] Capt. Snyder's battle, June 15th had been fought in the same territory. The attack on Apple River fort also had been made.

Black Hawk's position was altogether wrong. From Kellogg's Old Place he had gone northerly instead of east as guessed.

No better illustration of Henry's acknowledged superiority in military matters can be cited than to refer to Lt. Col. Zachary Taylor's selection of Henry's division as his choice for service with his regular troops and when Gen. Hugh Brady of the regulars was asked whom he preferred to command, he too chose Henry's division. So did Atkinson.

In the arrangement for the march on the Indians in Michigan Territory, Posey's brigade was ordered to take a northwesterly course from Dixon's Ferry, reinforce Major Dement if needed or desired and then push on to meet Colonel Dodge at Hamilton's Diggings. Alexander's brigade was given a course toward the mouth of Plum River; thence into Michigan Territory to join the Henry forces. Henry's division took a course up the left bank of Rock River to do the fighting should Black Hawk be overtaken. If, however, the Indians should head westward toward the Mississippi, they would encounter Posey or Alexander.

The three companies of Jacob M. Early (Lincoln's), Alexander M. Jenkins and B. B. Craig were assigned to Atkinson to report to him direct and do scouting duty.

With this alignment Henry felt the time was near when this Indian outbreak would be ended. The first day's march on the 29th was made to the Stillman battlefield. On June 30th four miles were made to Rock River; that was not so good. On July first seven miles were made; that was mighty slow progress. And so Atkinson droned along. About ten o'clock of July 3rd, scouts brought in news of a deserted Indian camp abandoned about three nights previous in which several scalps were found. But the find did not spur Atkinson to hasten or even to act at all. When later the division halted at Lake Koshkonong, Captains Gordon and Menard arrived from Alexander's command that had moved thence steadily from the mouth of Plum River according to instructions. On July 4th Colonel Fry was sent with his regiment and some independent companies to reconnoitre both sides of the river, but the shadowy enemy was not uncovered.

Here the same fault-finding spirit was asserted more or less. Here too the Henry personality was beginning to assert itself. While the Indians were playing hide and seek Henry was resolving

to bring them to an engagement by forcing the first prospect that should present itself.

On the fifth of July, the regiments of Colonel Fry and Colonel Jones were detailed to scout the west side of the river which they did for a distance of fifteen miles so thoroughly that they reported the retirement of the Indians to a stronger position farther up the river. Returning they met the forces of General Posey and Colonel Dodge camped on the west side of Lake Koshkonong about ten miles from Atkinson. Meantime Henry was working out some theories of his own.

Again the same everlasting shortage of provisions was demanding immediate attention and failure to rout Black Hawk was making the troops impatient. Instead of acting on the reports of Fry and Jones to follow the river up-stream, Atkinson issued his imbecile order No. 48: "The Commanding General has been disappointed in not finding, on his arrival at this place (day before yesterday) the enemy . . . hence it is necessary that the greatest vigilance should be observed and the Commanding General therefore calls upon the officers and men composing this command to observe and enforce the strictest obedience to orders and discipline, and he admonishes every soldier against the smallest waste of the provisions issued to him, as a contrary course will certainly subject him to suffering and want, detached as we all are at a distance from our depots."

Atkinson wabbled in his movements, the few that he made. One Indian after another reported Black Hawk to be first in one place and then in another, not one bit of which information was truthful. This information was given to permit Black Hawk to retreat toward the Mississippi, but Atkinson could not see it and instead of marching farther north where Fry and Jones had reported the Indians to be, and where later, they actually were found to have been, Atkinson ordered the army to fall back down stream to the burnt village. That was the Atkinson way of fighting Indians.

When provisions at last had run so low as to endanger the army, Atkinson issued his order No. 51 to Henry and Alexander that was to emancipate Henry from contact with Atkinson and to meet and win from Black Hawk a rousing victory. This order directed the two commands to march to Fort Winnebago on the

tenth, draw twelve days' rations and return without delay. On the same day, he ordered Posey to take his brigade to the lead diggings at Fort Hamilton, a back-track march, for what definite purpose is unexplainable unless it was to expose the small remnant of the army under Atkinson, to almost criminal dangers.

Henry and Alexander started for Fort Winnebago. During their absence Black Hawk's flight westward was reported, but as usual Atkinson paid no attention to the report. Notice the difference between Henry and Atkinson when the former and better soldier got the report.

The trip to Winnebago was a distressing one. During one night some thieving Indians frightened the horses into a stampede. The horses ran to the Wisconsin River and when stopped by it they rushed back, over the camp, crippling many soldiers and creating all manner of damage otherwise. Two days were required in catching them. At Fort Winnebago, Henry learned from indisputable Indian sources that a much nearer and better trail might be taken back to Atkinson. The same information located Black Hawk's camp at that very moment. At once Henry called a council of war. By this time Dodge had arrived and joined Henry. Here Henry laid his plans to disobey Atkinson's orders and return by the better trail and furthermore try to dislodge Black Hawk. His men were almost exhausted from fatigue and the horses were spent, but the Henry men favored their leader's plan. Alexander refused point blank, preferring spineless obedience to asinine orders to making the pursuit. Dodge, whose command had been reinforced, agreed to Henry's proposal for a fight. Alexander's decision left Henry and Dodge alone to make the change of return route and take the chance of meeting Black Hawk. And right here is where Henry displayed the genius of a soldier and the courage of a lion. Mindful of the grumblings of the rabble that had sent one army back home confessing its inability to subdue a ragtag bunch of Indians of perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred, a protest was here made to Henry against being led, contrary to orders, into the uncertainties of a trip through swamps. This protest was headed by Lt. Col. Jeremiah Smith. It was signed by several of the officers in Henry's command. When presented, Henry felt the time had come to stop insubordination and to go after Black Hawk. Calling the signers before him he ordered

their arrest by Colonel Collins' regiment, with further orders to escort them to Atkinson for trial before a court martial, which probably meant conviction and the supreme penalty. This action by Henry was just such an action as Andrew Jackson took in the Seminole War when he hanged one prisoner and shot another, and then captured several Spanish towns, all without orders. But it ended the Seminole War and a little later brought to this country the Floridas.

No person knew Henry better than Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, and instantly he begged permission to consult with the remonstrants, every one of whom withdrew his signature—and apologized personally to Henry for his offense. But for this energetic action by a firm and very energetic man, Black Hawk would have reached the Mississippi and escaped altogether the withering battle of the Wisconsin and annihilation at the battle of the Bad Axe. Meantime Atkinson was waiting and dawdling back at Rock River, marching up-stream and down-stream much like the mythical Emperor of Austria who marched up a hill and then marched down again. By this time too, Henry's available force had dwindled to 600 men or less.

Immediately and with alacrity, Henry started his retrograde movement along the better trail, when on or about the 18th, three Winnebagoes reported to Henry that Black Hawk had gone to Cranberry Lake to the north. Relying on this information Henry had resolved to march thence, after sending an express composed of Dr. E. H. Marryman and W. W. Woodbridge to Atkinson's camp to report Henry's action. But about eight miles out, these messengers unexpectedly ran upon the broad, fresh trail of the enemy in his effort to escape to the Mississippi River.

This unexpected find called for quick action. Various Winnebago guides, under pressure, confessed to Henry that they had been giving him false information, but solemnly promised to be truthful thereafter. On the morning of the 19th Henry started an express again for Atkinson's camp guided by Little Thunder, to report the Henry move and immediately Henry, with Dodge, moved along the trail in hot pursuit of Black Hawk. Storms raged furiously; five baggage wagons were left behind; most of the camp impedimenta were left behind at the same place in the

wilderness, the men cheerfully carrying their blankets and provisions on their shoulders. Henry dismounted to permit some weary soldier to take his mount and in every other way he acted heroically to relieve the fatigue of others. All day they marched covering fifty miles, and until two o'clock of the morning of the 20th, the storms raged, making impossible a cooked supper on the 19th and breakfast on the 20th so that meat was eaten raw, and flour mixed with water making a dough, was called bread and eaten in that state. The sight of Henry making so many sacrifices for his men, inspired others to do the same and to resolve to get Black Hawk this time or die in the effort.

Scouts captured a stray Indian who disclosed truthfully, that Black Hawk was but a short distance ahead. Poquette and Little Pawnee proved to be accurate guides and interpreters though premature in their expectations. When therefore Henry placed Ewing and Dodge in front to bring on an engagement, the men instead of grumbling, expressed unbounded enthusiasm for a fight. Fry and Jones were placed on the right and left with Collins in the center. But there was no battle on the 20th. The troops marched all that day until nightfall, cheerfully, when they camped on the east bank of the Third Lake where at last, a substantial meal was relished by the weary and hungry men.

At about three o'clock of the 21st., Captain Dickson reported the presence of the enemy on the bluffs of the Wisconsin River, and notwithstanding the loss of many more horses, the rear of Black Hawk's army was overtaken. Desultory fighting followed. Twice Henry pressed the enemy and twice the enemy gave way until every outrider was driven to the main Indian body.

Dismounting, every tenth man was detailed to hold horses. The Indians opened fire as Henry's advance guard appeared. Major Ewing's battalion when sent to the front was received with a galling fire by the Indians from behind trees.

Henry advanced quickly in person, placing Colonel Jones to the right, Colonel Collins to the left, Ewing in front with Fry in reserve. The Indians were routed after a desperate resistance and retreated to reform before Dodge could attack them, but when Henry sent Fry to aid Dodge, resistance melted.

In following up the retreating Indians, they were charged with bayonets. More than once they attempted a stand, but this was

no Stillman's affair; Henry was leading; Henry was fighting and he was giving those Indians such a beating that further warfare against the whites would never be attempted, particularly under the leadership of Back Hawk. They realized fully that a man who knew his business was after them.

Night stopped the rout, and during the night while the army lay on their arms, a sonorous voice was heard from a neighboring hill-top, supposedly directing a retreat in the darkness. But later it was learned that Black Hawk was suing for peace. He had sent Neopope (pronounced Nawpope) to do this talking in the Winnebago tongue presuming that Henry would have interpreters who would understand and report to Henry that Black Hawk recognized at last the folly of further resistance. But no interpreters got the message and the appeal was lost. Black Hawk recognized that he had lost, hopelessly; it was his first real defeat in 1832. Dement's battle was a draw, but this was a withering defeat in a pitched battle, administered by the man who proposed to get his quarry. Atkinson, back at Rock River, had no part in any feature of the fight, yet in his verbose report he took the entire credit for the victory.

Dodge, to be sure, took a valiant part in it, but when he wrote a letter to the commandant at Prairie du Chien, he assumed all the glory of the victory and never mentioned the name of his superior, General Henry. This letter caused so much surprise that Governor Ford in his history, written later, criticized it severely.

The Indians retreated to the other side of the Wisconsin River and into the hills beyond. One man was killed, Thomas J. Short of Captain Briggs' company, Randolph County, and eight men were wounded. Losses sustained by the enemy were about forty in killed.

Immediately Henry despatched an express to Atkinson to report the engagement and his location.

But to return to the Dodge letter: it was despatched by Captain Estes. It shows the unfairness and worse toward Henry from every quarter outside Illinois. Following is a copy:

Camp Wisconsin, July 22, 1832.

We met the enemy yesterday, near the Wisconsin River, and opposite the old Sac Village, after a close pursuit for nearly one hundred miles. Our loss was one man killed and eight wounded; from the scalps taken by the Winnebagoes, as well as those taken by the whites, and the Indians carried

from the field of battle, we must have killed forty of them. The number of wounded is not known; we can only judge from the number killed that many were wounded. From their crippled situation, I think we must overtake them unless they descend the Wisconsin by water. If you could place a field-piece immediately on the Wisconsin that would command the river, you might prevent their escape by water.

General Atkinson will arrive at the Blue Mounds on the 24th, with the regulars and a brigade of mounted men. I will cross the Wisconsin tomorrow, and should the enemy retreat by land he will probably attempt crossing some twenty miles above Prairie du Chien; in that event the mounted men would want some boats for the transportation of their arms, ammunition and provisions. If you could procure for us some Mackinaw boats, in that event as well as some provision supplies, it would greatly facilitate. Excuse great haste. I am with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. DODGE, COL.,
Commanding Michigan Mounted
Volunteers.

This letter is a fair sample of the correspondence had when later the war was fought over again through the newspapers with the droning officers under the Atkinson lash, leading. This Dodge letter is so raw that Smith in his *History of Wisconsin*, Vol. 3, page 426, uses these words: "The singularity of the language of the letter will be evident when it is considered that General Henry had the chief command at the battle of Wisconsin Heights, and not Colonel Dodge."

This newspaper feature will be noticed later when the Battle of the Wisconsin is reviewed in the *Sarpaque Journal*.

On the 20th Atkinson received a message from General Scott, reciting the affliction that had visited his men, and it seemed to inspire Atkinson with the idea that he was sent to fight Indians and if he expected to do any fighting at all, he should be about it. President Jackson had reached that conclusion and had sent Scott forward to relieve Atkinson and end that war. Fortunately, by the time Scott reached Prairie du Chien, Henry had won the war. On the 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th, Atkinson and Alexander were on the march through rains and mud until the Blue Mounds were reached. By this time the militia had been reduced to the strength of not more than one brigade. Added to this handicap the

volunteers were met with a noticeable coolness by Atkinson, for winning a battle in the face of disobedience of orders.

On the 25th, the army marched for "Ouisconsin" to overtake and finish the war. In this march, Henry's men though subordinated in the line of march, cheerfully submitted: The regulars went first: Posey and Alexander followed while Henry was given the rear in charge of the baggage. Frey resented this treatment but Henry requested obedience and the Henry command trudged along cheerfully.

On the 26th the Wisconsin was reached. Here at Helena, Col. Enoch C. March, quartermaster, had provided an easy passage over the river and here too Colonel Dodge's scattered forces reassembled and rejoined the army. By the 28th the river had been crossed and the troops had pressed forward three or four miles where the Black Hawk trail was met bearing down-stream. This was followed for twelve or fifteen miles when it terminated suddenly at a deep creek. Here the army camped for the night.

Next morning the little army pressed forward over a frightfully rough country which imposed hardships almost unendurable. Along this march dead bodies of Indians that had died from their wounds sustained at the Wisconsin battle, were passed. The bleak surroundings afforded no grass so that when an especially steep hill had been climbed the horses were tied without food of any sort. The weary march continued until on August first the immediate presence of the enemy was indicated and if darkness had not prevented, the final engagement might have been fought then and there. Atkinson however issued orders to be prepared at two o'clock in the morning to move for the Mississippi River. At daylight it appeared to Atkinson that once more he was to be denied the opportunity of an engagement because he heard distinctly the roar of artillery over on the river. The *Warrior,* Captain Throckmorton commanding, had observed a band of the Indians attempting to cross the Mississippi. They presented a flag of truce, but when Throckmorton asked them to come aboard for the conference, they declined and after allowing time for the women and children to retire he poured the contents of a six-pounder into their midst.

Black Hawk was aware of the presence of the army at his heels and in order to turn it to the north while he might try to retreat

hurriedly to the south and escape, he deployed a small force to attack the whites. Dodge sent Captain Dickson with his spies to go forward and engage the enemy while he, Dodge, drew up his line of battle. This Dixon did, killing eight of the Indians. The regulars under Taylor and the Alexander and Posey commands were ordered forward. The various commands were posted in strategic positions to snatch whatever of victory they might before Henry could appear upon the scene and when he did appear, trudging along from his rear position guarding the baggage, Atkinson deprived him of Colonel Fry's regiment by ordering that faithful officer to come to Atkinson's support. When, therefore, Atkinson made one grand charge on the enemy, the decoys placed by the wily savage side-stepped, and Atkinson charged the open distance, where he stopped to listen to some more firing. This time it was not the cannon from the *Warrior,* because that boat, running out of fuel, had dropped down stream to refuel. It came from Henry's troops and well Atkinson knew it. Henry's men, placed in the rear out of spite, had overtaken the main body of Indians fleeing southward and no doubt Henry would win another victory while he, the commander-in-chief, was fighting space in the distance. Which was the truth. When Henry from the rear had reached a point close to the army only to be deprived of Fry's assistance; with his command cut to a handful, he had run into the fresh trail of the retreating Indians and without one instant's delay, he pursued it, overtook the enemy and the Black Hawk War was over, won by General James Dougherty Henry.

When Major Ewing had reported this trail, Henry ordered his men to dismount. He then sent a forlorn hope of eight men to draw the enemy's fire. They had advanced but a little distance when the enemy opened fire and five of the eight men fell. Retreating to cover behind the trees, the other three awaited the approach of Henry.

The Indians had massed their entire force to oppose Henry's little band. With the decimations in the Henry command, Black Hawk's forces now outnumbered Henry's force, but Henry was there. Instead of trying to deprive Atkinson of participation in the victory already Henry's, Henry despatched Maj. Murray McConnel to Atkinson to report the engagement. The presence of Atkinson would make the engagement general, but even then

Henry's galling fire, poured into the enemy, had vanquished Black Hawk. Some little sugaring off followed, like the effort of a remnant trying to escape by swimming the Mississippi. To prevent this, troops belonging to Fry, Ewing and Dodge plunged into the river and reached a willow island where a few Indians were found and despatched.

The losses in this final engagement were five regulars killed and four wounded; Dodge six wounded; Posey one wounded; Alexander one wounded; Henry seven killed and wounded.

And where was the renowned warrior, Black Hawk, at the end of the battle? Did he try to save his women and children? Did he ask terms for his famished followers? When he saw that he was beaten to a finish, he, his sons and the renegade Winnebago Prophet ran away and hid themselves in the fastnesses of the Wisconsin River, and there they remained secreted until captured by Chaetor and Waukon Decorri[29] who immediately turned the party over to General Scott, who by that time had reached Fort Crawford.

Scott, of larger calibre than Atkinson, quickly caught the military worth of Henry and in a manner to "rub it into" Atkinson, he paid the gallant Henry a fine compliment. The story of the incident is found recorded in the *Sangamo Journal*, Sept. 1, 1832:

HANDSOME COMPLIMENT

Messrs. Editors:—As all incidents connected with our late Indian disturbances seem to excite a general degree of interest, the following circumstances may not be unworthy of publication.

After the battle of the "Bad Axe," as Generals Scott and Atkinson with a number of the officers of the army, were dining in the cabin of the steamer Warrior at Prairie du Chien, General Henry (who is more particularly observant of matters of business than formalities) having been engaged in some duty, did not arrive until towards the close of the repast. As he took his seat, General Scott observed to him, "Well, General Henry, it appears that you are disposed to reverse the old maxim." "How is that, sir?" asked General Henry. "Why, sir, the rule has been to be first at the feast and last at the fray."

It will be remembered that General Henry's Brigade with a small squadron under Col. Dodge, first defeated the Indians

[29] So spelled in the Wisconsin *Collections* wherever mentioned. Other so-called writers have used a slightly different orthography.

at a general engagement near the Wisconsin and that at the Bad Axe although held as a corps of reserve he, following the trail of the Indians instead of the army came *first* upon the main body and fought them for half an hour before he was joined by the other troops.

Yours etc.

B.

General Scott had another experience with General Henry that was almost laughable even while in a business so serious as war. General Henry had been offered by the general government the captaincy of a company of rangers; in some instances a brigade was named. This honor was seized by gossips to injure him while still a candidate for sheriff at the August election, 1832, and while he was wearing himself down in the swamps, rivers, hills, ravines and prickly bushes in the pursuit of Black Hawk. The United States did want his services and did offer him the appointment, but in the issue of July 19, 1832, of the *Sangamo Journal* we find these words:

> It has also been stated that Gen. Henry has accepted the command of rangers which had been proffered to him by government. The friends of Gen. Henry who know his business and who, it may be presumed, are as well acquainted with his views as those who seize upon his absence to injure his political prospects, state that he has not accepted the appointment and that there is not the remotest probability he will accept it. In fact we are authorized by a gentleman who has conversed with Gen. Henry upon the subject, to say that he declared to him he could not take the appointment. Gen. Henry will serve this county with fidelity as sheriff should its citizens see proper to re-elect him. . . ."

That Henry had been offered the command of one of the companies of rangers "to be raised under the new law," is true,[30] but that he declined to accept it is also true.[31]

At the expense of a brief digression let me say: General Scott's recognition of that command by General Henry should be recorded at this point. As before stated, when President Jackson had grown weary of Atkinson's inactivities, he ordered General Scott to leave New York with a body of the regulars and travel to the scene which Scott proceeded to do with all possible haste.

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[30] *Sangamo Journal*, July 5, 1832.

[31] *Ibid.*, September 1, 1832: "We are requested by Gen. Henry to state that he has resigned the office which he conditionally accepted as Captain of the U. S. rangers."

But no sooner had he got a fair start than cholera broke out among the soldiers and raged with deadly effect until Chicago was reached. There by Scott's heroic efforts the dread disease was thought to be stopped and at once Scott pushed on ahead of the men for Dixon's Ferry with instructions to his men to follow under command of General Eustis by any early date. Scott's route lay through DuPage, Kane, DeKalb and Lee counties to Dixon's Ferry, along the route between Chicago and Galena which later became the "Chicago" road. I made this statement in my *Black Hawk War,* taking my authority from Scott's autobiography, but some of the newspaper historians of Kane County declared it could not be possible; that he and his staff took a more northwesterly course to Galena direct. Recently while going through the *Sangamo Journal* files I found a letter written by Scott to Captain J. D. Henry, Springfield, Illinois, in the belief that Henry had accepted the captaincy and was awaiting orders. This letter was written while enroute to Dixon from Chicago, and is as follows:

Headquarters Northwestern Territory
Ft. Payne[32] on the Page river, July 29, 1832.

Sir:—The hostile Indians having been driven across the Wisconsin, opposite the Blue Mounds, after losing about thirty men, in an action between them and Generals Henry and Dodge. I am personally on my way via Dixon's Ferry and Galena to Prairie du Chien. I wish all the rangers to follow my route,—that is, to repair to Prairie du Chien, by the way Galena. Sabres and pistols without holsters, have been ordered to Danville for Captains Brown and Backus, and the same to Dixon's Ferry for the companies of Captains Henry and Ford. I have given these orders to save the necessity of marching to Chicago in search of arms. A hired wagon for each company to carry tents and provisions will be allowed to each of these companies, up to the time of joining me, say at Prairie du Chien; but instructions shall be left at Dixon's Ferry, to govern the march of the several companies raised. The remaining two companies of the six (one in Arkansas and one in Missouri) will, it is presumed, receive their arms somewhere on the Mississippi.

This letter is left open that the post master at Fort Clark may read it—my object being publicity. A copy is sent to each of the four captains first named.

Col. Eustis of the U. S. Army is left in command of the troops at Chicago. He will, with all the *well* men, follow me

[32] Occupied by Major Nathaniel Buckmaster after the muster-in at Fort Wilbourn.

> in a day or two, with orders to suffer neither rangers nor volunteers to join him whilst his troops can reasonably be suspected of the cholera. That disease has already subsided at Chicago and in a day or two will entirely disappear.
>
> I remain, sir, your obedient servant,
>
> Winfield Scott.

The humorous feature of the letter appears in the fact that the captain of rangers to whom Scott was writing, was the identical *General* Henry who had just driven Black Hawk westward from Wisconsin Heights. The letter fills another important place: it recognizes Henry as the commanding officer at the Wisconsin and as the general who won the vistory. Dodge was a colonel and not a general, with a command numerically but little larger than a company.

The troops returned to their homes, many of them so badly worn by the terrible hardships endured that a long period of rest was necessary for their recovery. In the case of General Henry, he never did recover. Giant in stature though he was, the seeds of tuberculosis had lodged in his system and gradually he declined in health until death cut him down while on the threshold of a great public career.

The return of these men was the signal for showing publicly an appreciation of their great work which forever ended Indian depredations in Illinois, in the form of a great ball given at Miller's Hotel, Springfield. The attendance was enormous; it included the flower and chivalry of the state, and General Henry was the lion of the hour. Unanimity prevailed and no one enjoyed the ball more than Henry, but because of his excessive diffidence, he did not enter the room where the ladies were assembled. A miserable recurrence to his unhappy birth prompted the decision; he never got away from it. And he never married.

Writers have alluded to this great social event, but where today it would receive a great streamer across the front newspaper page, with stories from half a dozen staff writers, only a few lines can be found in the *Sangamo Journal* of September first, 1832, on page two:

> Ball—On Wednesday last, a public ball was given at Major Miller's Hotel, "in honor of General James D. Henry, and the brave officers and soldiers lately under his command." The ball was well attended, and passed off pleasantly.

Henry's duties away from home did not prevent his re-election to the office of sheriff in 1832, and therein he was more successful than his companion in arms, Abraham Lincoln. At the same time, in defense of Lincoln's popularity, it must be owned that he had several opposing candidates to fight while Henry had none, although a miserable rumor was spread to the effect that Henry had not accounted to the county for his last tax sale. There was not the slightest foundation for it. The editor of the *Journal* went over to the court house and there found the Henry report spread on the records in full together with its acceptance by the county commissioners and here is what the *Journal* of July 19, 1832, says:

> Some weeks ago we gave a list of those candidates of this county, (omitting by accident the name of Capt. Lincoln of New Salem) who are on the frontiers periling their lives in the service of their country. We then thought as we do now that any attack upon those citizens intended to operate against them either personally or indirectly, should be repelled by those principles of moral rectitude which belong to our citizens. Recently we have learnt to our great surprise that a report is in circulation in some parts of this county that Gen. Henry was indebted to the county in a large amount. The object of this report cannot be understood. We have procured from the clerk of the commissioner's court the annexed statement[33] which shows that General Henry made a full settlement with the county in March last, and the county can have no demands on him until March 1833.

Though the office then was the most important in the county Henry's every-day life while in office was so quiet and matter-of-fact that it never excited publicity and one will look in vain over the newspapers to find the first notice of the doings of the quiet man who one brief year later was to find himself regarded as the first citizen of his state. His modesty however did not remove the possibility of making friends and admirers in great numbers; he was magnetic.

Once back home the stay-at-homes and partisans began fighting the battles of the war all over again. This was true especially of the *Galenian*, published in Galena. It was a violent partisan of Dodge, because no doubt Dodge, whose home and mines were at Dodgeville, was a member of the diggings settlements. Nobody with any degree of fairness will undertake to take from Dodge one

[33] At that time the sheriff was ex-officio collector of taxes and he made the sales of lands and lots for delinquent taxes.

modicum of his reputation as an Indian fighter. At the same time Dodge should have taken the same position with reference to Henry when sending his unfortunate message to Praire du Chien and he should have curbed his partisans, the *Galenian* especially.

Beginning with its issue of August 18, 1832, the *Galenian* gives a detailed account of the march from Helena and the Bad Axe battle taken from statements of various officers who had just come down on the *Warrior*. The march and its difficulties are worthy of credit and may with profit be introduced here: "The country through which the enemy's trail led our army between the Ouisconsin bluffs and the Kickapoo River was one continuous series of mountains. No sooner had they reached the summit of one high and almost perpendicular hill than they had to descend on the other side equally steep to the base of another. Nothing but a deep ravine with muddy banks separated these mountains. The woods both upon the top of the highest mountains and the bottom of the deepest hollows, was of the heaviest growth. The underbrushes were chiefly thorn and prickly ash. This is a short description of the route, and shows the difficulties of the pursuit."

After the battle of the Wisconsin, Dodge hastened the despatch to Prairie du Chien that ignored Henry and already has been mentioned. Later Atkinson, in exploiting his claims to winning the battle, consumed an almost unlimited amount of space in the *Military and Naval Magazine* which was copied in the *Sangamo Journal* of September 7, 1833. To do this required all of the first page and much of the second, but in the same issue "A Volunteer" answered the Atkinson claim that does not mention Henry's name, in a withering manner. Inasmuch therefore as Atkinson was allowed so much space to tell the world what a great soldier he was, it is no more than fair to print Henry's own words found in the issue of August 2, 1832, of the *Sangamo Journal*:—

> By yesterday's mail we received the following copy (from the Jacksonville *Patriot*) of an official communication from Gen. Henry to Gen. Atkinson, dated,
>
> "Camp on the Heights of the Wisconsin,
> July 23, 1832.
>
> "To Brigadier General Atkinson:
>
> "Sir:—Part of third Brigade together with the squadron under the command of Gen. Dodge moved from its encamp-

ment at the Four Lakes on the 21st instant at quick time. Having passed this defile, the Brigade entered an open country thinly covered with over-cup oak, on the right hand of one of the Four Lakes. About ten o'clock a. m. a party of scouts from the squadron discovered and killed the first Sac warrior. Proceeding on the trail of the enemy a few miles further in advance at the head of our line three other hostile Sacs were discovered, two of which were killed; the other made his escape. These circumstances raised the hopes of the Brigade to the belief that the wily Black Hawk and his desperate followers, could and would be overtaken; its movements consequently were greatly accelerated. In the meanwhile a chilling rain began to fall and continued until night which rendered the time exceedingly unfavorable for the anticipated fight. Passing rapidly from this point, the enemy began to show itself from the heights in the right and left: The enemy threw back a party of mounted warriors to occupy a position on the left; their movement occasioned a temporary halt and formation of the line of battle. It was however soon discovered to be a characteristic strategem of the Sac leader, and the Brigade moved forward. The enemy occasionally showing itself in front and flank until the advanced columns composed of Gen. Dodge's squadron and Maj. Ewing's battalion of spies halted. This step was taken in consequence of a scattering and skirmishing fire heard on the left. It was immediately discovered that the close pursuit and daring courage of the scouts from the squadron had brought the enemy at bay.—At this point the Ouisconsin was in sight on the right; a succession of peaks on the left and less elevated heights on the right; the Brigade occupying an uneven plain; in front lay the second step of the river, thinly covered with low, over-hanging cup-oak; on the left and between the position of the Brigade and the above mentioned Sacs, runs a deep ravine from left to right, diagonally across the front and bounding the aforesaid step. Before this lies a marsh covered with the most luxuriant growth of grass, which continues to the margin of the river, interrupted only by one slight elevation of sandy ground.

"Thus was the situation of the country when it was discovered that the whole force of the enemy was advancing. The right and left columns of the advance under the commands of Gen. Dodge and the center column under Major Ewing were immediately formed in line of battle by their respective commanders. At this instant the enemy in its accustomed manner directed its attack against the front. These troops gallantly withstood the shock and drove back the survivors in confusion and dismay. The Brigade advancing from right

and left and center by heads of regiments, the line of battle was immediately completed under the command of Col. Jones on the left supported by Col. Collins, who, as soon as they were dismounted, commenced and maintained a well directed fire against the enemy.

"The right wing was commanded by Col. Fry who advanced on the right with the first battalion and occupied a position on the high ground above the marsh and drove back the enemy in its attempt to flank to the right of us.

"The enemy being driven back at all points took possession of strong positions on the sides of the heights to the left and in the ravine at their base. Thus posted they threw a number of shot against the front and left wing, without the possibility of being reached by ours. At this juncture, I ordered the left wing under Col. Jones (whose horse was shot under him at this time) and Collins, to advance at a charge and take possession of the enemy's position and cover the heights; and Major James of the second Battalion's second regiment, with two companies of said battalion, was ordered to charge on the right. By request of Gen. Dodge and Maj. Ewing, they were ordered to charge the enemy at the point of bayonet, lying covered in the ravine.—These movements were effected with the greatest promptitude and in the most gallant style. In a few minutes the battle became general and the enemy was driven from the heights, fleeing down the precipitous declivities and took refuge in the swamps, thick woods and high grass in the bottom of the Ouisconsin.

"Col. Fry with the First Battalion of his (2nd) Regiment having completely routed the enemy on our right, was withdrawn from the position he then occupied in the battle, and was ordered to guard the horses and baggage until the issue of the conflict was determined. This important duty was confided to the charge of L't Col. Smith while Col. Fry was engaged on the lines. Major Wood of the 3rd and Major Miller of the 4th Regiments commanded and sustained the left of their respective regiments while engaged with the enemy on the charge and accquitted themselves in a manner worthy of their characters as officers and men.

"Having no information of the probable position of the residue of the enemy and the situation of the ground and because of the approach of night, I withdrew the troops and about eight o'clock went into the encampment on the ground where the attack was first made by the enemy. In all the three movements, I received efficient aid from Col. McConnel, who, in the absence of my first aid-de-camp performed the duties of that station with coolness, promptness and to my entire satisfaction. Assisted by Mr. Johnson and others, he

communicated to the officers of the line all orders directed to be given and accompanied Col. Fry in his charge upon the enemy upon the right. In short it is with much pleasure that I have it in my power to say to you that the officers and men under my command, without a single exception, demand and have my sincere thanks and deserve well of their country for their prompt obedience of orders, and unyielding bravery upon this occasion.

"At an early hour this morning the whole army was marched on foot (except the 4th Regiment, left to guard camp under the command of Col. Collins) through the swamps to the bank of the river, where we expected to find the residue of the enemy's force—but they had escaped. By means of bark canoes they were enabled to pass the river during the night, leaving behind the principal part of their effects.

"We had one man killed and eight wounded, none mortally. The number of the enemy killed and wounded is unknown, as the dead are scattered over a large tract of country covered with thick woods and high grass.

"Between thirty and forty have been found and others are continually being discovered by our scouts. From appearances, the wounded and many of the dead were removed during the night succeeding the battle. The name of the person killed is J. T. Short of Randolph county, Illinois.

"Names of the wounded in the 3rd Regiment, 3rd Brigade:

Meredith S. McMillan from Washington county,
James Thompson " " "
Joseph Wells, Perry county,
Armsted Jones, Randolph,
Four more were wounded, in the squadron.

"Signed etc.
"J. D. Henry."

Never was the man's modesty more conspicuous than upon the publication of his report. He regretted the publicity it gave him.

While the storm raged on paper between the partisans, most of whom aligned with Atkinson, who saw no service, Henry pursued the even tenor of his way at the sheriff's office to which he had been re-elected. "Volunteer" answered the Atkinson stuff in a most effectual manner in the *Sangamo Journal* of September 7, 1833. In the *Sangamo Journal* of October 19, 1833, "Justice" attempted to answer "Volunteer," but it was not a strong answer. It first appeared in the *Galenian*, and when "Volunteer" replied to it in the same issue of the *Journal*, nothing remained to be said for the Atkinson side of the controversy.

Some writers have stated that the ball given in honor of Henry and his companions was designed by its promoters to launch a boom for Henry for the office of Governor. It might have been true, but whether or not it was so designed it had that effect. And by the time the year 1834 appeared with its general election in August his candidacy had passed the rumor state and taken on the form of public meetings to voice that sentiment. These meetings started in Sangamon County and the first one is noticed in the *Sangamo Journal* of February 15, 1834:

> We understand that at a large meeting of citizens of this county held at Meredith's Mills, on Lick Creek, on Saturday last, General James D. Henry was nominated as a candidate for the office of Governor of this state. The meeting was large and was composed principally of farmers,—the "bone and muscle" of our county. There was not a dissenting voice in the meeting.
>
> We hesitate not to say that should General Henry be a candidate for governor—induced thereto by the spontaneous call of his fellow citizens in the different parts of the state—he would receive, in this region, nearly an unanimous vote. We have heard of no calculation allowing him less than two thousand majority in this county alone. And so far as our information extends, we are confident that he would obtain a large majority of votes over all his competitors.

A lengthy story of the meeting follows: The meeting was held on Saturday, February eighth, Rev. Willis L. Meacham was called to the chair and Theophilus T. Qualle was made secretary. Rev. Theophilus Sweet, William Underwood and John Snyder prepared and presented resolutions that were unanimously and heartily adopted. Rev. Peter Cartwright, Simeon Francis and David Dickenson were appointed a committee to look after General Henry's interests. It was further resolved that a copy of the resolutions be sent to General Henry as soon as he should return from New Orleans where he was seeking health.

Having done a great work for his state and his nation, it was quite natural that the people from all sections should desire to honor him. The spontaneity of these expressions was as unusual as sincere. Others suggested him for Congress. One of the first of these communications appeared in the *Sangamo Journal,* February 22, 1834, like this: "We have received a communication from Greene County calling upon Gen. Henry to become a candidate.

If we are not deceived in the indications of public opinion, the people have selected him to fill another and more important office."

On the 22nd February, 1834 the *Journal* reproduced copy from the Alton *Spectator* announcing the almost unanimity of "old Madison" for the candidacy of General Henry. The one and only weak spot appeared in Morgan County, General Duncan's home. There the *Patriot* was boosting Duncan and in the issue of March first of the *Journal*, Editor Francis let "slip the dogs of war," in good twentieth century fashion. But later the *Patriot* relented when it became noticeable that Henry sentiment was sweeping the state.

Athens in Sangamon County followed suit, and now here follows a meeting which because of its transcendent importance in interest today, will be taken in full from the *Journal* of March 15, 1834:

PUBLIC MEETING

At a respectable meeting of the citizens of New Salem, held pursuant to public notice on Saturday, first March, 1834, for the purpose of nominating a suitable person to fill the office of Governor of this state, Bowling Green, Esq. was called to the chair and A. Lincoln appointed secretary. The object of the meeting being explained by the chair, Dr. John Allen and Messrs. Nelson Alley and Samuel Hill, were appointed a committee to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the sense of the meeting who, after an absence of a few minutes, presented the following, which were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, the election of our executive officer, is always interesting to the people and should at all times demand their deliberate and serious consideration.

"And Whereas, the financial and infantile situation of this state is such, as to demand more than ever the deliberate attention and united efforts of its inhabitants for the election of a Chief Magistrate who is free from and above every party and sectarian influence; who respects the rights of his fellow citizens and who has wisdom to devise and energy to execute such laws as are conducive to the political happiness of the people and to the development of the great resources of our state.

"And Whereas, there is at this time no candidate for that high and responsible office before the people to whom we can, or to whom in our opinion the people in this section of country, will give a cordial and hearty support.

"And Whereas, we have the most implicit confidence in the honor, integrity and firmness of our fellow citizen, Gen. James D. Henry; therefore,

"Resolved, That the patriotic services, discreet and unaspiring character of Gen. James D. Henry, are such as to merit the confidence of the people of this state and to place his title to the gubernatorial chair paramount to that of any of the candidates now before the people.

"Resolved, That we will use every honorable effort to promote the election of Gen. Henry to the first office in the gift of the people of this state at the next August election. We recommend him to our fellow citizens, as a suitable person for the office believing that by choosing him, they will confer due honor on an individual and advance the permanent welfare of the state.

"Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary and forwarded to the editors of the Sangamo Journal for publication. And, on motion the meeting adjourned.

"Bowling Green,
"Chairman.

"A. Lincoln, secretary."

How those names appeal! New Salem is fairly speaking to us! One sees the Lincoln and Berry store and the Dr. John Allen and Samuel Hill buildings this very minute. And away up in distant Galena the *Galenian* of March 18th makes the statement that nine out of ten voters up there were for Henry for Governor. While not included in this list of honors, it should be said the city of Henry in this state was named after General Henry.

And so the good work was progressing with every prospect favoring General Henry's selection at the next election, when on April 5, 1834, the *Sangamo Journal* appeared with this announcement, just received by the postmaster of Springfield, which threw the community and the state into a state of panic.

DEATH OF GEN. HENRY

After a great part of our impression was worked off, the Post Master of this place put into our hands a letter containing the following most melancholy intelligence: "New Orleans, March 6, 1834. Sir—James D. Henry, of your town died in this place last night. His friends can obtain information

which may be satisfactory and necessary for them by addressing the undersigned at Jackson, Mississippi.

"Yours,

"James Foster.

"To the Postmaster, Springfield, Illinois."

James Foster was a physician from Jackson, Mississippi, who had attended General Henry in his last illness at New Orleans.

After the discussion that followed at once by knots of men collected on the various corners in Springfield, concrete action was taken to give expression to the community's grief in an appropriate manner. A meeting was called and met at the court house on April fifth, 1834, to arrange for paying suitable testimony to the memory of General Henry. The room was packed. Simeon Francis of the *Sangamo Journal* was called to the chair, and John S. Watson was appointed secretary.

On motion of Col. Garrett Elkin the following resolution was carried: "Resolved that a committee of three be appointed to prepare resolutions and report forthwith." Gen. Thomas M. Neale, Dan Stone and E. J. Phillips were appointed that committee and after an absence of a few minutes reported the following:

> Whereas we have received from a source entitled to credit, the melancholy information of the death of our worthy and respected fellow citizen, GENERAL JAMES D. HENRY, who departed this life in the city of New Orleans on the fifth day of March last; and regarding his decease as a breach in our society which cannot be filled, an irreparable loss to the community, and desirous to give expression to the high sense we entertain of his many virtues and signal services and to pay a proper tribute to his memory, Therefore,
>
> Resolved that this meeting deem the loss of James D. Henry such a visitation of Providence as affects not only this town and county, but the whole state.
>
> Resolved, That in order to pay that respect to his memory to which his merit justly entitles him, a committee of seven be appointed to select persons to deliver an address to the citizens of Sangamon county, upon the character, virtues and services of the deceased, at the court house on Monday, the 21st inst., at two o'clock p. m.
>
> Resolved that the citizens of the county generally be requested to attend on the day above designated and that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the *Sangamo Journal*.

Dr. G. Elkin, Gen. T. M. Neale, Col. John Williams and J. M. Cabiness, D. Dickinson, T. D. Potts and Edmund Roberts were appointed by the meeting to secure a proper speaker for the meeting and later E. J. Phillips was selected to make the oration.

On the editorial page of the *Journal* for April 12, 1834, the following editorial appeared:

DEATH OF GEN. HENRY

In a part of last week's impression, we announced to our readers the melancholy intelligence of the death of General James D. Henry. He died at New Orleans on the 5th of March, ultimo.

General Henry—from his high and manly bearing in all the stations he had held in life had attained the confidence and affections of his fellow citizens in a more eminent degree than often falls to the lot of individuals.

I did not intend to write his eulogy. That duty, we understand, will be performed by a gentleman every way competent to the task—who has been selected for that purpose by the committee appointed by the citizens of this county on Saturday last.

General Henry was thirty-four[34] years of age last fall; a native of Pennsylvania; a citizen of this state for fifteen years and a resident of this county for eight years. He was elected three times in succession, sheriff of Sangamon county. Though but a lad he served his country as a volunteer in one of the campaigns in the late war with Great Britain and was engaged in the battle of the Thames.[35] His subsequent military career is generally known to the people of Illinois. In the arduous campaign against the Sacs in 1832 his constitution, which before had been excellent, was so severely affected that it was feared he would fall into a decline unless relief was soon obtained.

Late last Autumn he left this place for the South by the advice of physicians, with the hope of recovering his health. The latest intelligence received from him previous to his death, gave reason to believe that he would return the present spring in the enjoyment of ordinary health and capable of occupying any public station to which his friends might call him.

[34] Another authority, E. J. Phillips, in his funeral oration, said he was born in 1797, which is more reasonable. If born in 1800 he would have been but thirteen when at the Battle of the Thames.

[35] He was also in the Battle of Lundy's Lane.

It may here be proper again to state that the letter announcing the decease of Gen. Henry was written by Dr. James Foster, a resident of Jackson, State of Mississippi.[36]

At the meeting held to listen to the address of Mr. Phillips, people poured out from every nearby section making the largest audience ever assembled in Sangamon County on any occasion. The Journal regretted that a copy of Mr. Phillips' address could not be secured, but a very good summary was given in which all of the salient features of General Henry's life was mentioned. He had a strong hold upon the confidence and affections of the people as their attendance and deathly silence manifested. General Henry was born in Pennsylvania in the year 1797. He never enjoyed the advantages of a school for a single day. In early life he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. His manly virtues threw around him a charm that was irresistable. His word never was questioned. Integrity incontestable. As a friend no man was more devoted. Every act of kindness extended to him was returned an hundred fold. No appeal to his benevolence was made to him in vain. He possessed a high sense of honor. He was remarkably retiring and unassuming. He possessed a strong natural common sense, practical judgment. Not brilliant but substantial. He was a close observer of passing events and men—observation rather than books constituted his learning. He cherished no selfish interests; he gave no applause to the self-strong. He had no lack of human frailties and he deplored them. He died March 5, 1834. In his last moments he was surrounded by those who appreciated his worth. His remains were interred in a vault in one of the cemeteries in New Orleans with a suitable inscription.

In the same paper an account was given of a monster meeting held in another city, where news of his death had not been proclaimed, to proclaim support of General Henry for governor, indicating clearly enough the rapid and substantial strength that General Henry had developed for the office of governor.

Evidently Doctor Foster had been written to, and had given the little that was learned of his end. It does seem too bad that more was not learned of those last moments of so distinguished a man. But his end was like his life, quiet, almost shy, removed as far as possible from the noise of life.

[36] *Sangamo Journal*, April 12, 1834.

I have tried to get copies of obituaries presumably to be found in the New Orleans papers for a notice of his funeral at least, but in return to my inquiries, I was told by Robert Glenk in a letter dated March 1, 1932, that no newspaper account whatever appeared: "We have an index of deaths taken from the files of New Orleans papers. We find no reference to any J. D. Henry."

D. D. Moore of the New Orleans Public Library on February 24, 1932, could give me no information.

Forgotten indeed! Once the strong man of the hour; the hero. Is it not highly proper then on this the one hundredth anniversay of his death, that we of his home town should do him honor?

OLD JUBILEE COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDER, BISHOP CHASE

By Lorene Martin

Fifteen miles northwest of Peoria, on a wooded bluff overlooking the beautiful valley of Kickapoo Creek, stands the quaint, rambling, stone building that once comprised the chapel, schoolroom, and dormitory of Jubilee College. For more than twenty years this venerable landmark has been unused and all but forgotten, while its vine-draped walls slowly mellowed to a soft, warm gray, and the grounds lost much of their campus aspect and reverted to the wild, natural beauty of the surrounding countryside.

A mile to the eastward a sign beside the road marks the gateway of "Robin's Nest Farm," once the home of Bishop Philander Chase, who founded Jubilee College in 1839; and lying about midway between this farm and the old college are the remaining traces of "Jubilee Square," laid out as part of the self-supporting community planned by the founder, and about which still stand some half dozen of the houses that were once the homes of the college professors.

These houses are still known by the names given them by those long-ago occupants. Here one finds "Windsor Cottage," "Shady-side," "Strawberry Cottage,"—even a "Bleak House," and the very names suggest something of the dignity and picturesque charm that must have characterized this once-thriving college settlement.

Jubilee College was one of the earliest educational enterprises, along the lines of higher learning, in the state. It had its beginnings within a few years after those of Shurtleff, Illinois, McKendree, and Knox Colleges. The Right Reverend Philander Chase was the first Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Illinois. Coming to this state in 1835 he found, so far as his Church was concerned, a field white unto harvest and but few laborers. There were at that time but four Episcopal clergymen in the state and, of course, no school where more could be trained.

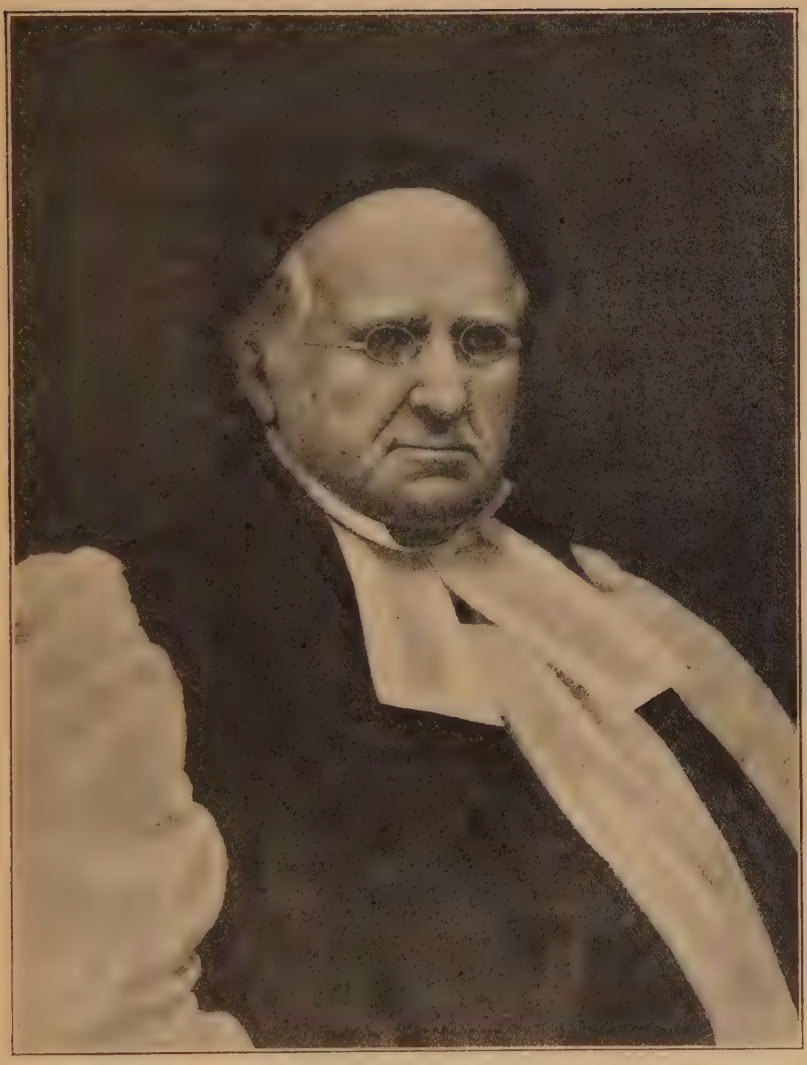
To send young men to the East was considered impracticable. Life in the older parts of the country presented so great a contrast to the pioneer conditions existing in what was then the Far West, that men educated in the East would have been ill adapted for service in Illinois. To Bishop Chase the one solution was a college at home, where "sons of the soil" could be prepared under the same conditions as those in which they were to labor.

Jubilee College, while primarily a theological seminary, had both collegiate and preparatory departments, as well as a school for young ladies. Although never large, it was for twenty years a strong and successful institution. Among its many students who went forth to fill places of usefulness and distinction in life were the Rev. Theodore N. Morrison, for many years rector of Trinity Church, Jacksonville; Dr. Thomas Dresser, long a prominent physician in Springfield; the Rev. Henry Neely, who became Bishop of Maine; James S. Ewing, who served as Minister to Belgium; and Adlai E. Stevenson, who was Vice-President of the United States during the second Cleveland administration.

No one cause can be made to account for the failure of Jubilee to survive. Obviously the location was unfortunate. Bishop Chase was one of those early educators who firmly believed that complete removal from the distractions and allurements of the city was essential to the best interests of youth. His conviction was admirably vindicated in the conduct and character of the Jubilee students, but the passing years brought to the college itself the inevitable results of inaccessibility.

The effects of the Civil War undoubtedly hastened the final abandonment. Bishop Chase had solicited and received much financial aid from the South, and at the time of the war many of the students were the sons and daughters of his Southern benefactors. It was only natural that most of these students, together with further aid, should be withdrawn.

But the period of decline began some years before the war. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is not inconceivable that the very strength of Bishop Chase's character, the heroic proportions of his faith, even the intensity of his devotion, resulted adversely for the institution which he loved. Year after year, although an old man, he labored untiringly for the upbuilding of Jubilee College; and so completely was his whole genius bound up with the cause of the



From Bishop Chase's Reminiscences, 1848

PHILANDER CHASE

religious education of youth and the effort to raise up a native ministry, that it might almost be said that Bishop Chase was Jubilee College. Then, in 1852, the Bishop came to the end of his earthly pilgrimage, and the college, bereft of his vital presence, was never the same again. Other hands, both competent and faithful, carried on the work for a time, but the soul of Jubilee was gone.

* * * * *

Philander Chase, as can be seen, was a remarkable man. From the accounts that have come down to us from his contemporaries, it is evident that wherever he went men felt at once his essential greatness. His large stature and dignified bearing were naturally impressive. Professor Sparrow, of the Virginia Theological Seminary, in describing his first meeting with Bishop Chase, said: "I tho't as my eye fell upon him he was the most majestic man I had ever seen. He filled the whole door." Except on occasion, however, there was nothing forbidding in his aspect. His nature was benignant, and both his manners and his speech had a pleasing grace.

He had, indeed, a strong, indomitable will, and a habit of independent action that more than once during his long and active life brought him into conflict with other good men. But his possession of these characteristics need not be deprecated. Without them much of his great work would probably never have been accomplished; and it is to be noted that even those with whom he differed most never failed to honor and admire his obvious sincerity, his great earnestness, and above all, his literally unbounded faith in God.

Bishop Chase was in his sixtieth year when he came to Illinois, with a long record of strenuous labor in other fields. His entire life was full of romantic interest. He was born in 1775, in Cornish, New Hampshire. To this place—in later times the summer home of so many illustrious folk—his parents, Dudley and Alice Corbett Chase, had come a few years earlier—the first white settlers to penetrate so far north in what was then an Indian-infested forest wilderness; and by them it had been named, in honor of Cornish, in England, the home of their forbears.[1]

[1] The frame Episcopal Church built by the Chase family in the 1790's still stands in Cornwall, New Hampshire, and is in regular use. One of the old Chase homesteads is nearly opposite; and near by is the churchyard where the parents of Philander Chase lie buried.

Throughout his childhood Philander played, with his many brothers and sisters, beside the lovely Connecticut River, in daily sight of Mount Ascutney—the very spot now widely known for its art colony and the Saint Gaudens Memorial Studios.[2]

As he grew up, healthy and happy, in the great forest, the boy learned all the practical arts of the woodsman and the farmer, and not one of them but stood him in good stead all his life long. But the parents of Philander Chase, while pioneers of the sturdiest type, were persons of cultivated mind and taste. Four of their sons had already been sent to Dartmouth College—a notable circumstance for that early day—and now, with the help of these brothers, Philander was prepared for the same institution. Entering in 1791, at the age of sixteen, he was graduated four years later with an A. B. degree.

The Chases were deeply religious, and the young man had long since decided to enter the ministry. As there were at that time no theological seminaries in this country, he studied for the next several years under the direction of the Rev. Thomas Ellison,[3] the scholarly rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York. Holding at the same time a position as teacher of one of the Albany schools, he was married, in 1796, to Miss Mary Fay, a lovely young woman of Bethel, Vermont.

Immediately upon his ordination to the diaconate, in 1798, Mr. Chase was appointed itinerant missionary to northern and western New York, and during the following year and a half made his way even to the most remote parts of these newly opened regions—preaching, baptising,[4] founding a parish wherever he could.

In 1799 he was advanced to the priesthood, and in order to care for his little family, which now included two small sons, he

[2] The influence of these early surroundings remained with him through life. A fine view was always an important factor in selecting a site for home or college; and the spiritual significance with which he constantly invested the face of Nature must first have come to him in "the long, long thoughts of youth." When far away from this scene and well toward the close of his life, he wrote: "Under the limbs of these trees [the evergreens in the Cornish churchyard], you see the pure waters of the river Connecticut, and the bridge that leads over to the beautiful village of Windsor, in Vermont. Turn your face west, and the towering mountain, Ascutney, fills all your views. It lifts its head on high; the sunbeams rest upon its brow, while oft the dark clouds begirt its waist; showing us that the light of God's countenance can beam upon us while troubles encompass us here below." *Bishop Chase's Reminiscences* (Boston, 1848), Vol. I, p. 119.

[3] Mr. Ellison was a native of England, and had been educated at Oxford University. Caswell, *America and the American Church*, p. 23.

[4] The first baptism at which Mr. Chase officiated after his ordination was that of Miss Ann Cooper, a sister of James Fenimore Cooper, author of *The Deerslayer, The Last of the Mohicans*, etc.

settled in Poughkeepsie, as rector of Christ Church and principal of the Poughkeepsie Academy. Here he remained until 1805, when he was sent to New Orleans. He was the first Protestant minister ever to preach in that city, where he founded Christ Church, and served for six years as its first rector.

Returning to New England in 1811, Mr. Chase spent the next six years as rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut. These were especially happy years—an idyllic interlude, as it were, in the midst of an otherwise strenuous and eventful life; for with all the rugged qualities of the pioneer, Philander Chase possessed every element of gentility, and the cultural and social surroundings in the long-settled Eastern cities were very congenial to his tastes.

His next move, therefore, constituted one of the truly great sacrifices of his life. Eighteen years had passed since he labored as a missionary in the wilderness of New York, but never had he been able to forget the spiritual needs of such isolated places; and now his thought turned to the vast new region beyond the Alleghenies. Consequently, in 1817, he gave up his pleasant parish and his comfortable home, and went to Ohio, then a new state attracting many emigrants. And he went—in his own words—"under the patronage of no missionary or any other associated body of men, for then there were no such in being—but . . . depending on his own limited means, under *Providence.*" His well known motto, "Jehovah Jireh—the Lord Will Provide," was, in fact, the keynote of his entire life.[5]

In Ohio Mr. Chase rode hundreds of miles on horseback, through wood and prairie, preaching and founding churches. In 1818 a diocese was formed, and in that year he was elected first Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Ohio. Philander Chase was, in fact, the first Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the Northwest Territory.

About this time occurred the death of his wife, leaving him alone with the care of a small son.[6] After a period of great lone-

[5] This motto still appears in the seal of the Diocese of Quincy, in Illinois, of which, as part of the original Diocese of Illinois, he was the first Bishop.

[6] This son was Dudley Chase. Educated at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, he became a clergyman, and was for many years a chaplain in the standing army of the United States.

The two older sons, George Chase and Philander Chase, Junior, remaining in the East, were educated at Yale and Harvard, respectively. Both died in early manhood. The latter was a clergyman.

liness and sorrow, he was married to Miss Sophia May Ingraham, of Boston, Massachusetts, who remained the devoted and efficient helpmeet of all his later life.

Having no salary as Bishop, Mr. Chase maintained himself and family by means of farming.[7] He also served as principal of the Academy at Worthington—a sort of junior college in which one of his pupils was his nephew, Salmon Portland Chase, who was to become Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Lincoln, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Bishop Chase was also for a time president of Cincinnati College, at Cincinnati.

But his greatest accomplishment in Ohio was the founding of Kenyon College. As he went about the state visiting his churches he was everywhere besought to send resident ministers. But appeals to the East were unavailing, and nowhere could he find more than half a dozen clergymen for service in the entire diocese.[8] Therefore he decided to establish a school for the training of young men in Ohio to minister in their home state.

In spite of intense opposition, originating in the East where, with the General Theological Seminary newly founded, it was contended that a second seminary in the country was unnecessary, Bishop Chase went to England in 1823 to solicit funds for this project. Turning with perfect ease from the primitive scenes of the American frontier to all the refinements and formalities of life in Old England, he met those high in the Church and in social rank, and captivated them with his simple yet distinguished manners and his fervent story of Ohio and its needs. He remained for more than seven months, and in that time secured not only about thirty thousand dollars—then a considerable sum—but the lasting friendship of some of the most eminent and influential persons in that country.[9]

For one of these friends, Lord Kenyon, Bishop Chase named his college; for another of them, Lord Gambier, the community which he laid out around it. The institution, open to all who

[7] His farm, near Worthington, nine miles north of Columbus, is now the "Chaseland" stop on the interurban railway.

[8] George Franklin Smythe, *Kenyon College: Its First Century*, (New Haven, 1924), p. 7.

[9] The letters and diary written by Bishop Chase in England make delightful reading. In fact, the entire *Reminiscences* have such beauty of diction and charm of incident as constantly to suggest the "Life and Letters" of some literary man of note, even while they form the biography of an ardent pioneer missionary.

desired a liberal education as well as to prospective ministers, opened its doors in 1824 and was a success from the beginning.

Kenyon College is still a thriving school. The students have their own way of telling the story of its early days, often singing with great gusto:

The first of Kenyon's goodly race
Was that great man, Philander Chase;
He climbed the Hill, and said a prayer,
And founded Kenyon College there.

He dug up stones, he chopped down trees,
And sailed across the stormy seas,
And begged at every noble's door,
And also that of Hannah More.

The King, the Queen, the lords, the earls,
They gave their crowns, they gave their pearls,
Until Philander had enough
And hurried homeward with the stuff.

He built the college, built the dam,
He milked the cow, he smoked the ham,
He taught the classes, rang the bell,
And spanked the naughty freshmen well.

And thus he worked with all his might
For Kenyon College day and night;
And Kenyon's heart still keeps a place
Of love for old Philander Chase.[10]

Kenyon College does indeed revere the memory of its founder, carefully preserving all data relating to his life. Among a group of academic buildings noted for their architectural beauty, "Old Kenyon," erected by Bishop Chase and now "covered with ivy and gray with age," is pointed out with pride; and Peirce Hall, the college commons, dedicated in 1929, is adorned with a Philander Chase Memorial Tower, in which a set of stained glass windows done by Connick, of Boston, depict the principal scenes of the Bishop's life.

[10] Verses by Dr. Smythe.

The current catalog of Kenyon College states that its alumni roll contains a larger percentage of distinguished names than that of any college in the country. Among these names, to mention only a few, are those of two Justices of the United States Supreme Court, David Davis and Stanley Matthews; a Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton; and a President of the United States, Rutherford B. Hayes. Many eminent clergymen, both priests and bishops, have been Kenyon men.

But this noble institution, which has blessed its thousands, was destined to be to its founder the occasion of the most tragic disappointment and painful renunciation of his life. Misunderstandings, with regard to the nature of the institution and the Bishop's episcopal authority as related to his presidency of the college, arose and developed into a lamentable situation; and in 1831 he resigned both as president of Kenyon College and as Bishop of Ohio.

"We must *live in peace,* or we cannot be Christians; and . . . to secure peace, especially that of God's Church, great sacrifices must sometimes be made," he said, and went sadly away. Presently he opened a new farm in the very forest primeval of southern Michigan. He named the spot *Gilead* and there, with his family, lived for several years, close to the heart of Nature and far from all human discord.

And so Bishop Chase came to his sixtieth year. No thought of lessening his labors, however, seems to have entered his mind. The duties of his sacred calling had at no time during his retirement been forgotten. Diligently had he searched out all the settlements within a radius of sixty miles, and preached as often as Sunday came. And now an entirely new call was on its way.

In the neighboring state of Illinois the Episcopal Church was hardly known. A few zealous clergymen had, however, for several years been at work in this new field and had organized a number of parishes. Trinity Church, Jacksonville, was organized in 1832; Christ Church, Rushville; St. Jude's, Peoria; and St. James', Chicago, in 1834. These four small parishes, with a total of thirty-nine communicants, constituted the Episcopal Church in Illinois when three clergymen and a few lay delegates met in Peoria on March 9, 1835, and organized a diocese. In the evening of

that day a resolution inviting the Right Reverend Philander Chase to "remove into this diocese and to assume Episcopal jurisdiction in the same" was unanimously passed.[11]

This invitation carried no offer of a salary, nor even of a house. But with Bishop Chase this consideration had little weight. His motto, "Jehovah Jireh," sufficed. He replied with an acceptance and at once made a trip to Illinois (in a covered wagon), visiting Chicago—which he described as a "newly built town, of a few houses and flourishing trade"—Peoria, Springfield, Jacksonville, Danville, and a few other towns. He was accompanied by his grandnephew, the Rev. Samuel Chase, who was to spend many years in Illinois, both as a minister and as a teacher, and upon whom many of the burdens of Jubilee College were to fall most heavily.

The prevalence of cholera prevented the Bishop from extending his journey to the southern part of the state, but even in this brief survey he discerned a situation very similar to that which in Ohio had led him to found Kenyon College. To obtain ministers in sufficient numbers to gather the people into congregations and organize churches in all parts of the state must be, he saw, his first concern. And since ministers could not be obtained from abroad, they must be trained at home.

Forthwith he placed his diocese in the hands of Bishop Kemper, the newly appointed Missionary Bishop to Indiana and Missouri, and sailed once more for England, this time to obtain funds for a seminary for Illinois. Although the time he had chosen proved to be somewhat inopportune for his English friends, he succeeded in raising about ten thousand dollars. Some funds were also collected in the East during his absence.

Returning to this country in the summer of 1836, Bishop Chase lost no time in removing his family to Illinois. The procession, as it left Gilead, must have presented an entertaining spectacle. According to a letter written by the daughter, Mary, an ox-team, driven by a hired man, led the van; then came the carriage with some of the family; Henry, the oldest son at home, followed in a wagon; while Philander, junior, the youngest of the family, on "Cincinnatus"—an old horse much beloved by the Chases—brought up the rear. "Thus we set off," quaintly says

[11] Journal of the Primary Convention, Diocese of Illinois, 1835.

Mary's letter, "after humbly asking a blessing on our labors in the far west of Illinois."

Incidentally, "Cincinnatus," who bore that classic name in honor of the city in which he was purchased, was the faithful steed that Edwin M. Stanton, in the early days of Kenyon College, stole out one evening and rode many miles to call on a young lady. Fortunately we read that "the wrath of the Bishop was dissipated by the engaging frankness with which the future Secretary of War confessed his crime."[12]

Bishop Chase was determined to place his new college, as he had placed Kenyon, in the heart of a wilderness; and in the beautiful, wild country of Peoria County he found exactly what he desired. A delay of more than two years, however, was caused by difficulties connected with obtaining lands not yet brought into market by the government.

In the meantime he was able to purchase an established claim to a quarter section lying about fourteen miles northwest of the town of Peoria, for a farm and home. On this land, at a point where an elevation between two ravines gave a beautiful view to the south and west across the wide and fertile valley of the Kickapoo, he built a log cabin and, with his droll habit of naming everything, called it "The Robin's Nest," because, as he said, it was "built of mud and sticks, and filled with young ones."

No trace of this little abode remains to-day, but a daguerrian view has preserved its likeness, and the spirit of that long-ago time is so cherished by the present owner of the farm, Mr. Murray M. Baker, of Peoria, that one turning in at the gate before mentioned can almost see the long, low cabin, with its porch covered with vines.[13]

"The Robin's Nest" was the home of Bishop Chase and his family for six years; and it was, as well, diocesan headquarters, post office, and until Jubilee Chapel was built on the Hill, parish church. A little visiting granddaughter from the East found it in 1840 very home-like and inviting, recalling it in her story of the

[12] Smythe, *Kenyon College: Its First Century*, p. 82.

[13] Mr. Baker hopes to reproduce this cabin, as nearly as possible in its original form, at some future date.

A stone's throw from its site, the second "Robin's Nest," a substantial and beautiful brick residence, built in 1849 by Henry I. Chase, son of the Bishop and steward of Jubilee College, stands today. The Bishop never lived in this house, but Mrs. Chase passed many years of her widowhood in its sunny "South Chamber." "Robin's Nest Farm" remained in the family until comparatively recent years.

Bishop's life, written many years later,[14] as having consisted of "a central log-cabin, which contained a kitchen, two small bedrooms, and a little dark room filled with books, also a dining or living room, which a glowing coal fire, a bright carpet, and a wide lounge covered with a great wolf-skin made very cheerful and comfortable. On either side were books to the ceiling. At each end of the house was a little frame room, one of which was the Bishop's study and sleeping-room, and the other had been made by his son Dudley, with his own hands, for the reception of his prospective bride." But in her story the granddaughter recalls also the isolation and

From Bishop Chase's Reminiscences, 1848

THE ROBIN'S NEST

the hardships endured by those early settlers. "There were no conveniences," she says, "few comforts, and no near neighbors. Almost everything was wanting save courage, hope, and duty."

At the earliest possible moment the Bishop set out upon an episcopal tour—the first of those many journeys that were to take him, in the heat of summer and cold of winter, up and down

[14] Laura Chase Smith, *Life of Philander Chase,* (Dutton, New York, 1903) pp. 300-1.

and across our state almost to the end of his days. Having now become, as he said, "too old and too unwieldy" to ride much on horseback, he traveled in what—for some reason of his own—he called a "Quaker" wagon, drawn by two horses.[15] It is to be remembered that Illinois at this time still contained vast stretches of almost unbroken wilderness. There were comparatively few roads, and bridges were infrequent. Fording even the larger streams was a commonplace necessity. More than once the life of this intrepid missionary hung in the balance as, alone on the wide prairies or at some swollen creek, he struggled to extricate himself from difficulty.

In the fall of 1838 Bishop Chase finally secured, at government land sales held in Quincy, two thousand five hundred acres of land lying adjacent to his farm. This land was not only extremely beautiful, but as a site for the new institution, possessed many advantages. There were both limestone and freestone on the grounds, clay for making brick, and wood for burning them; there were also "inexhaustible beds of the best bituminous coal," and there were several strong springs of pure water.

The location selected for the college buildings was the brow of a bluff commanding a view of several miles up and down the valley. "It looks to the south," wrote the Bishop enthusiastically to a friend, "and has a fine grove of trees which shield it from the north and west winds in the winter, and which, overshadowing the buildings, will make it pleasant in the summer. What gratifies me is that the buildings will be in full view of the *Robin's Nest,* and about a mile off."

The chapel was the first building to be erected, and by the following spring all was ready for the laying of the cornerstone. The ceremony took place on the third of April—"the day fine," in the Bishop's words, "the sky serene, and just enough wind to remind us of the breath of God." Those who have visited Jubilee can readily visualize the scene,—the new green of the grass and the budding trees everywhere, the long procession of carriages forming at the foot of the hill and slowly mounting the rising

[15] No stick nor splinter of this venerable vehicle can now be found, and except that it was a covered affair, seemingly no one now living knows what it was like. The Bishop called it variously wagon, coach, or carriage. The one with which he entered the diocese in time went to pieces, and was replaced through the kindness of Mrs. Marryat, of England, mother of the famous author of sea romances, Captain Frederick Marryat, and cousin of Mrs. Chase.

ground, the crowd of several hundred persons gathered at the site, the Bishop, glad of heart and majestic of mien, standing among them,—and before them the foundation, only, of the building now so old and weather-worn.

After the Bishop's address the service followed the beautiful form appointed by the Episcopal Church for the dedication of a church or chapel, including also the *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis,* and a *Hymn for missions in the new settlements of the United States.*[16]

It is not difficult to understand whence the college derived its name. From the time Bishop Chase first formulated the idea of a seminary for Illinois, the name *Jubilee* seems to have been in his mind; and as the realization of his dream drew near he was certain that no other name could so aptly express his great joy and thankfulness at being able to found another college to the glory of God "more than five hundred miles still further toward the setting sun."

The original funds were soon exhausted—after the purchase of the land—by the erection of a few temporary buildings and the beginnings of the chapel. Work came to a standstill and prospects were gloomy. Then the Bishop thought only of his motto, "Jehovah Jireh—the Lord Will Provide." He made a long tour of the South and there, in spite of the financial stringency of the times, which held even the Southern planters in its grip, obtained many benefactions for Jubilee. Returning by way of the East, he received still other gifts, as well as additional funds from England—and the building of Jubilee College went forward.

By the fall of 1840, when the first pupils—mostly boys for the preparatory department—were received, the chapel, and the schoolroom opening into it, had been completed. A small residence occupied by the Rev. Samuel Chase, who had personal charge of the school from first to last, stood near them. There was also a store, in which staple goods were sold for the benefit of the college; and a large, frame building, named "Jubilee Hall," but

[16] The words with which the stone was laid were:
"In the year of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, Thomas Carlin being governor of Illinois, and Martin Van Buren being president of the United States, I, Philander Chase, aet. 63, once the first bishop of the diocese of Ohio, and founder of Kenyon College and of 'Ross chapel,' and now first bishop of Illinois, do here, in all humility and godly fear and holy reverence, lay the corner stone of the chapel of Jubilee College, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." *Bishop Chase's Address and Other Services at the Laying of the Corner Stone of Jubilee College,* (Peoria, 1839), p. 9.

known down the years as "The Boarding House," was nearing completion.

The chapel, with Gothic windows and slender spire, was built of hewn native stone—its simple transepts and apse, together with the long schoolroom, forming the pattern of a cross. From the first this little sanctuary under the trees served as parish church as well as college chapel. There was no other Episcopal church nearer than Rushville, sixty miles to the south, and soon communicants came from miles around.

The interior, therefore, was so arranged that all or part of the schoolroom could be included in the chapel whenever desired. This was made possible by two sets of sliding doors—made of beautiful, solid walnut—the one partitioning off the chapel proper, or "consecrated part," and the other dividing the schoolroom in half.

The doors of the front set were of two-story height, so that when they were open the second floor became a gallery looking down into the chancel. It is said that this arrangement was originally intended to provide a secluded place for the young ladies of the school, the young gentlemen meanwhile attending strictly to their own devotions on the ground floor. However this may have been, the choir sat in this gallery, and in later years the Jubilee chapter of Gamma Sigma used it for a meeting place.

The "west wing," adjoining the schoolroom at a right angle, was erected several years later. This wing—the main dormitory of the college—was destroyed by fire in 1857, but was restored soon afterward upon the same lines. Originally the greater part of the space, upstairs and down, was divided into small compartments, each containing a double-decked bed—an ingenious, Pullman-like arrangement by which exactly twice as many students were comfortably lodged as would ordinarily have been possible.

The great front room on the ground floor was always the library—lined on all four sides with books. Many of the fifteen hundred volumes that were ranged here were old and rare, and bore upon their fly-leaves the personal inscriptions of their donors—such persons as Lord Bexley, Lord Kenyon, the Bishop of Durham, and the Bishop of Sodor and Man. In this room, too, in a special niche, were kept the several sets of handsome communion plate, one of which was the gift of the Dowager Countess of Rosse.

From Bishop Chase's Reminiscences, 1848

WEST VIEW OF JUBILEE COLLEGE
As it appeared in the 'forties

At the north end of this wing, also on the ground floor, was the post office. Bishop Chase was himself the postmaster, as he had been at the "Robin's Nest." For a long time the name was not changed, and many letters bearing the postmark "Robin's Nest, Ill., P. Chase, P.M." are still in existence.

The west wing and the chapel and schoolroom, together forming one L-shaped building, constituted the south and west sides of a quadrangle of stone buildings which the Bishop planned to erect —after the pattern of a seminary in St. Johnswood Road, London —for a "Christian Female Institute," in addition to a Jubilee College proper, in quite other and larger buildings.[17]

By 1842 Jubilee College was well under way. An announcement appended to the Convention Journal of this year set forth the information that in the preparatory department "all the branches of education usual in high schools" were offered. The young ladies' school presented "all the usual English branches, with the addition of the classics, if desired." Music lessons would also be given, if requested. This school was in charge of the Bishop's daughter, Mary Chase, and was conducted in "Jubilee Cottage," a large, brick building on the Square.[18] After 1842 "The Cottage" was also the home of the Bishop's family, who assisted in the work of boarding the students.

For the freshman class of the collegiate department the course of studies included Livy and Odes of Horace, Xenophon, Herodotus, Demosthenes, and Epistles of the New Testament; Algebra, Geometry, Logarithms, and Trigonometry; Classical Antiquities and Ecclesiastical History. Studies for the upper college and theological classes were not enumerated until a later date,[19] but it was made perfectly clear that in each of its departments not alone the acquisition of knowledge, but "the formation of those principles and habits which constitute the christian character," was the great design and purpose of Jubilee College. The instructors,

[17] Bishop Chase's address to diocesan Convention, 1846.

[18] Taken down a number of years ago.

[19] *A Register of Jubilee College for 1855* lists the following studies for the senior year: Philological—Greek Testament, Selectae de Patribus (Mason); Mathematical—Astronomy; Belles Lettres—Moral Philosophy, Christian Ethics, Exercises in Declamation and Composition.

throughout the entire period of its existence, are known to have been competent and thorough.[20]

Tuition and board for an entire year of forty-four weeks were furnished for one hundred dollars. There were, however, many students unable to comply with even this "unexampled low rate," and no one who was worthy was turned away. But this was comprehended in the Bishop's original plan, which had therefore included other sources of revenue for the institution.

The land was the main endowment—more of the acreage being brought under cultivation each year. A professorship of ten thousand dollars, given by friends in South Carolina, was made the basis of several profitable investments. The first of these was the establishment of a saw mill two miles down the creek. Equipped with the latest and most approved type of machinery, this mill was very soon bringing in more than the interest on the amount of its cost. A few years later a flour mill, driven by water power from the dam of the saw mill, was added and likewise proved a success. A third investment was a flock of sheep, built up gradually to the number of two thousand, and brought to great perfection. The fine wool was sent to the East, where it was manufactured on shares, and the Jubilee portion of cloth then sold at the college store—still another enterprise, as already mentioned, conducted for the benefit of the institution.

Nevertheless, the building up of Jubilee College required incessant care, labor and self-denial on the part of the founder. Repeatedly he made advancements from his own funds to save the college from debt, or to help in building. Nearly all of the contributions sent by friends in England or elsewhere for his personal benefit and, in time, practically all of the proceeds from the sale of his Michigan farm, went thus into the college.[21] Meanwhile he was without compensation either as Bishop of the diocese or as president of the college. Surely the deprivations and sacrifices

[20] During the 50's the Professor of Belles-Lettres was the Reverend Charles Dresser, of Springfield, the clergyman by whom Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd were united in marriage. At Jubilee Mr. Dresser occupied "Strawberry Cottage"—which received its name in natural consequence of the fact that even before the house was built, its yard had been entirely planted with beds of strawberries, all for the benefit of the college.

[21] *An Account of the Landed Estate, Houses, and other Property of Jubilee College*, (Robin's Nest, 1842); *The Motto*, October 1, 1852 (Jubilee College); statements of "Bishop Chase in Account with Scholarship Fund," January, 1847, and June, 1848, (with Convention reports).

of this good man—and of his devoted family—were built into the very foundations of Jubilee College![22]

But what deep joy it gave him, now in his declining years, to see "this choice flock of the lambs of Christ, all pursuing, under able teachers, their studies of useful science and sacred learning —all living in love and peace with each other, and at stated times, and with one accord, all worshipping the God of their fathers 'in the beauty of holiness!'"[23]

The "stated time" for morning prayer was 6:30 o'clock, and he who was late went without breakfast! Of the Sunday services an early student (John Wilkinson) has left the following picture:

> In the year 1845 the buildings of Jubilee College were new and substantial, though less picturesque than at this time. They were the pride of the inmates and the wonder of the country round about. The chapel, with cross, bell and organ, was the center of church life for the county, outside of Peoria, and the gathering on a Sunday morning was a scene not soon to be forgotten, one that could not be produced anywhere else.
>
> At the first or warning bell for service, the students retired to their rooms, the grammar school boys to their dormitories. Soon, wagons were rumbling up the hill, and unloading their groups of old and young in the outer driveway or on the campus. Meanwhile, the bishop and Mrs. Chase were driven to the door of Dr. Chase's[24] study, the bishop to be vested and helped to his place in the pulpit where, propped up by cushions, he remained during the service, and then, still sitting, delivered his sermon.
>
> Soon after the bishop's arrival came the procession from the girls' school, conducted by the bishop's daughter (Mrs. Chamberlain, died 1904), and took their places in their accustomed corner. The men and boys had fallen into line, and at the sound of the last bell (a signal for which was always given by the bishop when present), they entered from the schoolroom which opened into the chapel by sliding doors.

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[22] Rev. Samuel Chase, *A Review of Jubilee College*, (Peoria, 1843), p. 33; Bishop Chase's addresses to diocesan Conventions of 1846, 1851, etc.

In an article written shortly before his death, (published in the *Motto* for October 1, 1852), Bishop Chase stated that the amount of the college indebtedness to him at that time exceeded $15,000. In his will he directed that one-third of this amount be repaid to Mrs. Chase and the remaining two-thirds founded in the college, the interest on the latter to be used for "the board and education of my grandchildren * * * and their male heirs forever."

[23] Bishop Chase to Convention, 1845.

[24] The Rev. Samuel Chase received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Jubilee College in 1850. He was a man of scholarly mind, and was Professor of Ancient Languages in the college as well as having supervision of the entire school.

> The seats in this study room were so constructed that the desks in front could be let down out of the way, giving somewhat the appearance of pews. When the sermon began, these desks were swung up again, forming a comfortable resting-place for the head of many a sleepy Eutychus, when the good bishop, like his predecessor at Troas, was long in preaching."

Of the Bishop himself, the recorded memories of his granddaughter who, as before mentioned, visited Jubilee in its early days, have preserved many intimate glimpses; and dating, as they do, from her childhood, these memories undoubtedly present a true picture of his personality. Of life in "The Cottage" she writes:

> The pupils were part of the family, and were always present at the table. There were frequent guests, and the conversation between them and the Bishop was often very witty and amusing. Should the youthful spirits of the girls become too demonstrative, the Bishop would skilfully introduce a certain watchword into one of his remarks, which silenced them at once, and the guests were none the wiser.[25]

Her own first impression of him, when he came to her home in Vermont, was very awe-inspiring. He was so immense, and had such dark, piercing eyes! And he put such a soul-paralysing question! "Can you work a button-hole?" he asked, in what seemed to the little girl an almost threatening tone. For it happened that she could not truthfully answer "Yes," and she had a horror of telling a lie. But certainly she dared not answer "No." She was therefore reduced to silence. But not for long, for she felt strangely drawn to him. He seemed to her a unique being and one to be reverenced—but she loved him at the same time.[26] She writes, in fact, "As I look back upon my days with him, I am sure that he was the most lovable and delightful man in the world, and I think he was as attractive to almost everyone as he was to me, or more, in proportion to their knowledge of his character."[27]

Not that Bishop Chase was always mild and gentle. He could be—especially when he wished to drive home some principle which seemed to him important—stern, commanding, even splendidly imperious. Some of the most engaging stories told of him relate to this masterful mood. Old Jubilee neighbors delighted to tell of a baptism that he once conducted. When the mother was asked

[25] Smith, *Life of Philander Chase*, p. 337.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[27] *Bishop Philander Chase: A Sketch by his Granddaughter*, (Hartford, 1898).

to "name this child," her answer, so the story goes, was "Reginald Percival." "Tut, tut, tut," said the Bishop, "with your heathenish nonsense! *John,* I baptise thee in the Name, etc., etc."

A very characteristic story is one credited to a delegate to the General Convention of the church held in Cincinnati in 1850. At this time Bishop Chase was the Senior or Presiding Bishop in the American Church, having succeeded to that office upon the death of Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, in 1843.

> On our return to St. Louis, [writes this clergyman] I took passage in a steamboat, and on getting on board found Bishop Chase and his wife returning to Illinois by the same route . . . We had on board about three hundred passengers. The Mississippi was then much nearer the far West than now, and the passengers were of much rougher material than would be found within five hundred miles of the same point at the present date. Few of them had ever been present at a liturgical service, much less seen a live Bishop. After the dinner tables had been cleared on Sunday, all were summoned by the bell "to hear the Bishop preach." The long saloon was crowded on both sides of the row of tables, and at the head sat the old Bishop in an arm-chair, as he was at that time accustomed to sit in addressing a congregation. Opening his prayer-book, he read and remarked upon the fitness of two or three of the preliminary sentences, preparing the heart for worship. He then read and commented in like manner on the exhortation. That done, he said, "Now, dear friends, let us kneel down and confess our sins to Almighty God." This was a usage rather strange to most of the crowd, so but two or three churchmen present and a few women knelt. With a little deeper bass the Bishop's voice rolled through the saloon, "My friends, kneeling is a fit position in which to confess our sins to God!" A few more went down. But no halfway doings would answer. The old man roared in a voice of thunder, and bringing his fist upon the table with a force which made everything shake, "Kneel down, I say, every one of you!" And down they all went, as if they had been shot.[28]

Jubilee College obtained a liberal charter in 1847, after a long and trying delay due to the condition imposed by the early legislatures of Illinois upon institutions of learning—namely, that no denominational creed should be taught in them.[29] And in the

[28] Smith, *Life of Philander Chase,* p. 330.

[29] *Bishop Chase's Address and Other Services at the Laying of the Cornerstone,* (Peoria, 1839); Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D.D., *Charter of Jubilee College, Illinois, with Remarks,* (Philadelphia, 1847); Bishop Chase to Conventions, 1845, 1847; *The Motto,* October 1, 1852, (Jubilee College), p. 207.

same year came the happy event of the first commencement, when a platform was erected under three great oaks on the lawn ("where so lately," said the Bishop, "roamed the untutored native, and to which the wild deer, from habit, paid frequent visits"); a "band of music" came out from Knoxville, and a crowd of more than seven hundred persons gathered to hear the orations and witness the conferring of the Bachelor of Arts degree upon five young men.[80]

Then came a series of misfortunes. In 1849 the mills, uninsurable since steam power had been added when water failed in drouth, were destroyed by fire—a veritable disaster, since it deprived the college of a third part of its support. And when, to offset, in some measure, this great loss, farming activities were increased, Kickapoo Creek flooded and carried away most of the crops and many of the fences. A short time later a claimant appeared for three hundred and twenty acres of the college land—acres, as it happened, on which stood some of the most valuable buildings! But the Bishop's own motto, "Jehovah Jireh—the Lord Will Provide," had been from the beginning made the watchword of the college. Whatever the adversities of that institution, the faith of the founder never faltered—and whatever the problem, a solution was found.

The college came now, in fact, to its best days, with students overflowing the dormitory into the various houses on the Square. In 1851 Bishop and Mrs. Chase themselves retired to "Bleak House,"[81] in order to release more rooms in "The Cottage" for the girls. Moreover the Bishop had grown very feeble and was obliged to rest from most of his labors. His constant journeyings—attended by frequent exposure and many an accident—had taken heavy toll of his strength and vigor. Late in 1851 an assistant Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Henry John Whitehouse, D.D., was consecrated, and the old Bishop finally abandoned all effort to continue his visitations.

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[80] A Master of Arts degree was given to a sixth young man, who had had previous training in another college.

[81] This house was not known as "Bleak House" at this time. Several years later it was occupied during an unusually long, cold winter by a group of jolly young students, among whom was David W. Dresser, a son of the Rev. Charles Dresser. This young man, who must have had something of the Bishop's penchant for naming things, declared the house to be as bleak and cheerless as the house of the Dickens story, and bestowed upon it the name by which it is known to this day.

Thereafter he seldom left Jubilee. Serenity, born of complete confidence in the successful future of the college which he affectionately called "the child of my old age," filled all his days. "I am here at Jubilee," he wrote to the Convention of 1852. "for so have the inhabitants here called the Township, in which God has enabled me to found the College of that name:—the sweetest place in the Western world. The College is flourishing; scholars about 60 in number—are contented and happy; they and the numerous families and friends on the Hill, and on the farms, are in good health."

On Sundays he preached or addressed the students in the chapel, and at the appointed times administered the sacraments with his own hands. His eyesight grew dim, but he had no need, to read from his prayer-book—whatever the service, he knew it "by heart." Of the burial office, in especial, his granddaughter observes: "When he officiated at a funeral, 'that cradle-song of immortality,' the burial service, lost none of its impressiveness from being said without a book, in the tender, loving, trembling voice of the old Bishop."[22]

It was on a day in the early autumn of 1852 that Bishop Chase met his last accident. During the pleasant hours of the afternoon he went for a drive about the grounds with Mrs. Chase. A bit of broken harness, a frightened horse lunging suddenly forward—and the Bishop was thrown to the ground. Students from the campus hurried to his aid, tenderly lifted him and carried him back to his home. There was no great injury, but the Bishop was ready to be released from the burden of the flesh. For several days he lay quietly in his bed, murmuring the Psalms of David and the prayers of his church. Then, on September 20, 1852, in the seventy-seventh year of his earthly life, "without a struggle and scarcely a sigh," he passed to the Life Beyond.

A few days later his remains were reverently borne to Jubilee Chapel, and then to the churchyard beyond it. There was music, beautifully rendered; and a sermon, by the Rev. Ezra B. Kellogg, rector of Christ Church, Metamora, from the text "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." The Bishop's two

[22] Smith, *Life of Philander Chase*, p. 340.

sons,[33] in full canonicals, and various other clergymen were present. But all was done with the utmost simplicity; for the Bishop himself had desired but one thing for his burial—that those who should be present might receive some spiritual good. Again it was a mild and beautiful day—such a day as that in early spring, long before, when the cornerstone was laid; and as that in Indian summer, the following year, when the completed chapel was dedicated. One who was a part of the long procession to the churchyard was heard afterward to say: "Never did the grave seem so full of hope as when we gathered about that of Bishop Chase, under the clear blue sky, to lay to rest his mortal body."

Three tall firs, within a small inclosure, now lift their green against the blue of the sky and, together with a marble monument in the semblance of an Episcopal altar with an open Bible of marble lying upon it, mark the lovely, sylvan resting-place of him who was the first Bishop of Ohio and of Illinois, for nine years Presiding Bishop of the House of American Bishops, and founder of both Kenyon and Jubilee Colleges.

For several years after the death of Bishop Chase, Jubilee College continued to flourish. Yet in tracing out the story, a sense of decline is inescapable almost from the date of his passing. No more does Jubilee hold first place in diocesan records; and the various forces which led gradually to the extinction of the school are seen to develop during the next years without effective resistance. Not from lack of faithfulness to a trust imposed were these things so. But the gifts of Bishop Whitehouse—who, under the provisions of the charter, succeeded to the presidency—while brilliant, and entirely consecrated to the service of the church, were of a different order. His residence was maintained not at Jubilee but in Chicago. The vision through which the little college in Peoria County was created and sustained, was the vision of Bishop Chase; and of no other man would it ever be said, as it was said of Jubilee's founder, that "he knew no fatigue, he knew no rest," while in its service.

From about 1859 the number of students gradually diminished. For the college had by this time become more simply an academy, and with the development of the public school system in the state during this period, the facilities offered by such an

[33] The Rev. Dudley Chase and the second Rev. Philander Chase, Junior. The latter was a member of the first class graduated from Jubilee College.

institution became less in demand. An encouraging number of students for the theological department continued to present themselves, but so many of these students were necessarily received on a beneficiary basis that, in time, Jubilee College found itself able to continue its work only by means of a large annual draft upon its capital.[34]

From time to time land was sold in order to meet obligations, and the institution became further impoverished. The new Bishop looked with disfavor upon the policy of seeking aid from distant friends of the church, whether in this country or in England; but his appeals to the Diocese of Illinois failed of adequate response—Jubilee was too near home to receive the appreciation which it merited.

Through all of these vicissitudes, Dr. Samuel Chase remained faithfully and quietly at his post of duty, even giving of his own means—as the old Bishop had done before him—to continue the college in activity. By the fall of 1862, however, the burden of indebtedness had become so great that all operations were necessarily suspended. The Civil War having come on, Doctor Chase went into the army as a chaplain. Upon his return, at the close of the war, he succeeded in reopening the college for a time, but only as a school for boys; and in 1868 its doors were finally closed.

In 1883 the Reverend Thomas Haskins, of Alton, inspired by reading Bishop Chase's *Reminiscences,* determined to revive Jubilee College, and with eighty Indians sent by the government, and about forty white pupils, opened a school in the college buildings. But his funds proved inadequate, and after two years the schoolrooms again were closed, the halls silent, and only the chapel remained in use.

"As I remember it at this period (fifty years ago)," recently said Mr. Benjamin Cowell, of Peoria, "the quaint old chapel,—with its simple bell-tower and vine-clad walls, its liberal gathering of devout parishioners, the squawky organ, stained glass chancel window, and the peaceful wealth of forest growth outside its open doors and small, diamond-paned windows,—was worthy of all the efforts of the founder."

But the time came when even the chapel fell into disuse. Years went by . . . An aroma of the past settled down upon the

[34] Bishop Whitehouse to Convention, 1862; Report of the Rev. Samuel Chase, D.D., Vice-President of Jubilee College, to Convention, 1866.

long, low building. . . . "It became a bad ruin," continued Mr. Cowell, "losing its tower, its bell, its vines; walls settled, floors rattled and fell in, and much of the wide acreage was sold; old parishioners died or moved elsewhere, and the old building became a pitiable thing to contemplate—a dead thing!"

The building suffered not only from neglect but from vandalism; boys stole pipes out of the organ to use for whistles or to sell for lead; souvenir hunters carried away the stained glass window, broken bit by broken bit; priceless books from the fine old library were looted until scarcely one remained.[35]

In 1931 the Jubilee property, so long unused for educational purposes, reverted to the heirs of Bishop Chase; and on July seventh of that year, the heirs having sued for partition, the remaining buildings and grounds—the latter now comprising only ninety-six acres—were sold at a Master-in-Chancery sale at the court house door in Peoria. By a pathetic coincidence the sale occurred exactly eighty-four years from the day on which the first commencement was held.

The purchaser was Dr. George A. Zeller, Managing Officer of the Peoria State Hospital. Interested in the preservation of historic sites, and having, like Mr. Haskins, a reverence for the life and work of Philander Chase, this large-hearted physician wished not only to see the picturesque remains of Jubilee College rescued from further ruin, but to put the property to some use that would carry out the original purpose of the founder—the development of youth. Accordingly, to the great satisfaction of everyone interested, he presented it to the Boy Scouts of America, as a permanent camp site for the Scouts of the Creve Coeur Council of that organization. The chapel was reserved and, in special memory of Bishop Chase, presented to the parish of St. Paul's Church, Peoria.

A more ideal spot for a boys' camp could hardly be imagined, and on the afternoon of Sunday, October 18, 1931, more than five thousand persons gathered on the hillside in front of the old main building to witness the dedication ceremonies. Once more, as though Nature kept an old covenant with Jubilee's special events, it was a perfect day—a day bright with the golden sunshine of autumn.

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[35] Many of the volumes from the original library of Jubilee College had, however, been transferred in 1890 to the Western (now Seabury-Western) Theological Seminary, in Evanston, and from there distributed among other seminaries.

Courtesy Peoria Star

JUBILEE COLLEGE, 1933

Although the occasion was one of rejoicing, there came a moment of pathos when "Taps" were sounded for "Old Jubilee." As Dr. W. A. Johnston, of Peoria, an instructor in the Haskins school during 1883-84, concluded a brief but impressive address, "Farewell to Jubilee College," a Scout, standing near by, gave the slow notes of the call; and from distant parts of the campus, where other Scout buglers were stationed, came echoes that floated far out across the valley. Many persons were moved to tears, for as the last note subsided, Jubilee College, as such, passed out of existence forever.

But once again a worthy design failed of complete fulfilment. The Scout organization was unable to develop the property in accordance with the terms of the deed of trust, and early in 1934 the title was returned to the donor. An encampment of the Civilian Conservation Corps is expected to occupy the grounds during the coming summer; and plans are also being worked out by which, through the generosity of Doctor Zeller, the property will pass into the hands of the state, eventually to become, it is hoped, a State Park.

Visiting the campus today one finds only two buildings that have stood since the Bishop's time—"Old Main," and the small brick gate-house, once the college store (although probably not the original one), and now the caretaker's lodge. The "Boarding House," which stood immediately north of the main building, and from which a covered passage led to the small door still to be seen on the east side of the west wing, was torn down long ago; and the two or three log structures that stand about in various states of disrepair are relics only of the Raymond Riordan school for boys, which terminated a brief career in 1909.

But the restful beauty of the arching trees—many of which are oaks three centuries old—the shaded paths, the deep, wooded ravine on the north, the natural "oval lawn" sloping away in front of the main building, and the wide view stretching out beyond—these delighted the heart of Bishop Chase nearly a hundred years ago and remain unchanged today.

To the old stone building itself, pathos inevitably clings. It is a lonely ruin, but one from which the dignity has not departed. Of simple architecture, its lines in themselves express tranquillity and repose. Beside its worn portal—some of whose stones are said

to have been laid by the Bishop's own hands—stand tall, stately spruces. A great stillness surrounds the place. The continual sough of the wind in the trees seems less a sound than a quality of silence.

The dormitory would perhaps be habitable only in summer, and the schoolroom is a desolate place. The chapel, however, has been somewhat restored and set in order for occasional services held by the clergy of St. Paul's Church. The baptismal font is gone, and the sliding doors of beautiful, solid walnut. A small reed organ replaces the pipe organ of other days. But although few, if any, of the original furnishings[36] remain, the effect recalls a line from a letter written by Mrs. Chase to a friend in England when the college and its buildings were new—"It would do your heart good to look into Jubilee Chapel . . . everything plain, but very neat, and in good taste."

Set in the reredos of the altar is a marble tablet bearing the inscription:

STUDIOSI COLLEGII JUBILIENSIS PHILANDRO CHASE
EPISCOPO HOC MONUMENTUM FIERI FECERUNT
OBIIT XII CALENDAS OCTOBRES MDCCCLII

The chapel remains the heart and soul of even the crumbling ruins of Jubilee College, and within the holy quiet of the room one feels the intangible presence of those who worshipped here long ago.[37]

A few hundred yards to the west, down a lane bordered with cedars, is Jubilee Churchyard. In summer, wildflowers grow in the far corners, and beyond lies a sweet green wilderness of trees

[36] The tradition that the chancel window and various other of the original furnishings of Jubilee Chapel were presented by Queen Victoria, of England, apparently lacks means of substantiation. That the Queen did not provide funds for building the chapel, and that Bishop Chase did not have an audience with Her Majesty while in England, is evident from his own *Reminiscences*.

At the time of his second and last visit to that country, King William IV and Queen Adelaide were still upon the throne. Bishop Chase addressed the latter, by letter, on the subject of printing an edition of the prayer-book in German for the benefit of some German settlers in Illinois, and received from her a contribution for that purpose. *Reminiscences*, II, 362.

Queen Adelaide also made some contributions, not to Jubilee, but to a neighboring church—that at Limestone Prairie. Bishop Whitehouse to Convention, 1853.

[37] The wooden cross that once surmounted the spire which rose above the east end of the chapel, has been retrieved from the general débris by the present owner of the grounds, and reverently placed by him as nearly as possible in its former position.

Doctor Zeller has also carefully preserved the one remaining fragment of the "Queen Victoria" window—a perfect medallion, representing a dove, which he will have restored to the chapel.

and tangled vines. This quiet, secluded burial ground, nearly a century old, is now legally the property of Jubilee Township, and within the past few years has been set apart by court order as perpetually sacred to its original purpose. But it was consecrated long ago, by a very beautiful service at the close of a summer day.

It was in the late afternoon of July 19, 1857, that Bishop Whitehouse, after reading evening prayer in the chapel, led the congregation, with several of the clergy in surplices, in procession out to the churchyard. Entering just at sundown, the company walked around the inclosure, repeating alternately with the Bishop Psalms 49 and 105.

"The effect of this," runs the old account,[38] "in the 'twilight hour' was very impressive. The tramp of so many footsteps of the living, around the sleeping of so many dead, the voices solemnly uttering the grave truths from the far inspired past, seemed to make a holy wall of severance for the enclosed square from all worldly uses and common associations."

Then a circle was instinctively formed around the resting-place of Bishop Chase, beside which the living Bishop had taken his place. Standing thus, while the last sunlight faded, the "Instrument of Donation" was read, and the "Sentence of Consecration," making the ground "henceforth and forever the Church's own," was spoken. Then a prayer, a hymn, the benediction; and the little company—"with involuntarily slower step and lowtoned voice"—filed out, leaving the hallowed spot,—where today sleeps the dust not only of Philander Chase, but of his wife, his sons and his daughter, Dr. Samuel Chase, and many another of those devout pioneers who played each a part in the little drama of Jubilee College,—alone in the gathering dusk.

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Information was also obtained by personal visits to Jubilee College Campus and "Robin's Nest Farm," and by interviews or correspondence with the following persons, to each of whom grateful acknowledgment is made:

Mrs. Ernest Chamberlain, Peoria; Mrs. J. B. Clark, LaGrange, and Miss Emeline Chase, Larkspur, California, granddaughters of Bishop Chase; Mrs. Neal Brown, Peoria, and Mrs. Charles Hull, Chicago, great-granddaughters; Mr. Virginius H. Chase, Peoria, a great-grandson; Dr. George A. Zeller, Peoria, owner of Jubilee College Campus; Mr. Murray M. Baker, Peoria,

owner of "Robin's Nest Farm;" Dr. W. A. Johnston, Peoria, instructor in the Haskins ("Homewood") school; the Rt. Rev. Edward Fawcett, Bishop of the Diocese of Quincy; the Rev. Percy V. Norwood, Evanston, historian of the Diocese of Chicago; Mr. Benjamin Cowell, Peoria, and Mr. George S. McReynolds, Chicago, who have known the Jubilee neighborhood for many years.

Much of the information about the history of the college buildings and the homes of Jubilee was kindly given by Mrs. Chamberlain, both in person and through her delightful papers, "Forgotten History."

ALBERT TAYLOR BLEDSOE: CRITIC OF LINCOLN

By Harry E. Pratt*

A century and a quarter ago in the state of Kentucky, there were born Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and Albert Taylor Bledsoe, three men whose lives were to come into strange and unexpected relations to one another.

If the exceptional character is still the proper subject for a biography, then there is reason for a sketch of Bledsoe. Born in Frankfort, November 9, 1809, he became in turn soldier, college professor, Episcopal minister, lawyer, newspaper editor, author, assistant secretary of war of the Confederacy, Methodist minister, and founder and editor of the *Southern Review*.

Moses Owsley Bledsoe, father of Albert Taylor, was a son of the Rev. William W. Bledsoe, a Baptist clergyman, who because of persecution of the Baptists in Virginia moved west into what at a later period became Kentucky. In December, 1786, he married Patience Owsley, daughter of Thomas Owsley of Madison County, Kentucky. In his will, probated in 1811, he mentions three sons of this marriage: Adam, Jesse, and Moses Owsley.

Moses Owsley married, January 4, 1809, Sophia Childress Taylor of Franklin County. She was a sister of the eminent lawyer, Samuel Taylor of Richmond, and a niece of Creed Taylor, who was one of the chancellors of the state and founded and conducted the first law school in Virginia.

Married at sixteen, almost without any education, she seemed to have inherited the natural gifts of her people. Her granddaughter wrote of her: "She was not at all handsome, lacked imagination, and was entirely wanting in a sense of humor; but she had a masculine intellect, a keen sense of justice, a courage which was heroic, and an invincible will for the right. She became a devout Christian of quite modern type; full of charity and love and self-forgetfulness."[1]

Moses Owsley Bledsoe, in 1816, founded and edited in Frankfort, Kentucky, the newspaper later called *The Commonwealth*.

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[1] Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, *Bledsoe Family History*, Bledsoe MSS.

He was a strikingly handsome, pleasure-loving, jovial soul, bubbling over with fun, and with no religious leanings. Some time after July, 1825, he removed his family to Carrollton, Illinois. He took an active part in Greene County affairs, serving as clerk of the circuit court from 1829 to 1848; from 1834 to 1837 he added the duties of the county clerk; and from 1838 to 1840 he was commissioner of the school lands of the county. He took an interest in a fifteen-year-old boy, Edward D. Baker, lent him books, assisted him with his studies, and finally suggested that he study law. Colonel Baker's brilliant rise to fame must have given much satisfaction to his patron.

Of the five children born to Moses and Sophia Bledsoe, Albert Taylor was the eldest. He inherited from his mother his mental power and passionate love of truth; from his father his unstable temper and keen sense of humor; and from both his quickness to see a situation and promptitude in meeting it, as also his mental and physical courage.[2]

Of his early education little is known beyond his statement that *Pike's Arithmetic* was his first ladder on the way to his eminence in mathematics. He was a boy of remarkable intelligence and indomitable will, ruling the family from his father on down.

When Albert was about thirteen years of age, Governor Letcher, who was a friend of his father and had been a lover of his mother, paid the family a visit. "He had with him the well-known old puzzle, the reel in the bottle, which consisted of a spool that had been cut into several pieces and put into a narrow necked bottle, the pieces being afterwards fitted together and wound around with thread so that it seemed a perfect spool. This the governor produced and showed to the boy. After looking at it for a moment he said, 'I can do that.' 'Well, try,' said the governor. A short time afterwards the boy came back holding a second bottle with the dissevered and wound spool inside.

"Governor Letcher was so delighted with the boy's quickness and ingenuity that he said, 'Bledsoe, that boy ought to go to West Point.' "[3]

This promise was fulfilled and the untrained country boy entered the military academy July 1, 1825. He was small for his

[2] Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, *Methodist Review*, 1915.
[3] Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, "Albert Taylor Bledsoe," *Alumni Bulletin*, University of Virginia, May, 1899.

age, with hair almost as white as cotton, and he went by the title of "Little Bledsoe."

The general examination in June, 1826, found him deficient and he turned back to recommence the studies of his first year. This failure was not due to his age, for sixteen of the eighty-seven students entering with him were younger, but to poor preparation. Robert E. Lee entered with him and ranked third in the same examination.

In the examinations in June, 1827, he completed the first year's work with a standing of eighth in a class of sixty-five. At the completion of the four years' work he ranked sixteenth in scholarship in a class of forty-two, and two hundred and seventh in conduct in a total of two hundred and fifteen. Bledsoe was one of the six of his class who joined the Confederacy.[4] Bishop Leonidas Polk of the class of 1827 once wrote: "We roomed together at West Point, and during an intimate acquaintance of 38 years I never knew him to utter a selfish or unworthy word."[5]

Bledsoe was a brilliant student in mathematics, working a problem in geometry that Archimedes had bequeathed to posterity without the answer. For years, the professor of mathematics had given it to his students for solution. Descartes, the great geometer, had after much toil abandoned it; Sir Isaac Newton had solved it, but not by the method demanded, but had deemed it worthy of being placed in his *Principia*. Bledsoe was very proud when the professor pronounced his solution perfect and fifty-one years later printed the problem and answer.[6]

The chaplain, Dr. Charles P. McIlvaine, by his spirituality, his great personal charm and his warm human sympathy, had the greatest influence upon young Bledsoe. A half-century later Bishop McIlvaine declared, "From the time of his being a cadet at West Point, under my ministry, when I received him to the Communion on December 24, 1826, to the breaking out of the late war, our relations were not only cordial, but affectionate."[7]

Bledsoe's interest in religion was also stimulated by his study of two books by Dr. Olinthus Gregory: *Evidences of Christianity* and *Mechanical Philosophy*. "The study of the latter difficult

[4] G. W. Cullom, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy*, Vol. I, p. 368.
[5] Virginia Herrick Fox, *Memorandum Book*.
[6] *Southern Review, January*, 1877, pp. 247-248.
[7] *Southern Review*, January, 1874, p. 110.

work," he remarked, "was, as we have always believed, about as useful as any other in the training, discipline, and development of our intellectual powers."[8]

During his five years at West Point, he sent home a large part of the allowance made by the government to cadets. Upon graduation he became Brevet Second Lieutenant of the 7th Infantry and served on frontier duty at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory.

Resigning at the end of the two years required, he next spent a year in the study of law in the office of his maternal uncle, Samuel Taylor, in Richmond, Virginia.[9]

Bishop McIlvaine, then President of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, offered him a position as Adjunct Professor of Mathematics and Teacher of French in the fall of 1834, which he accepted with a view to aid a younger brother in his medical studies. "We wrote to him," said Bledsoe, "to join us at Kenyon, but the letter never reached him. A day or two before it would have done so, he died . . . this youth of seventeen, who was regarded as a prodigy of intellect. . . . The blow seemed to extinguish in us the very light of life, but it led in the end to our entrance into the Theological Seminary."[10]

Doctor Sparrow, then Professor of Systematic Divinity in the Seminary, "was the best teacher we ever had," said Bledsoe; "he found us in a state of despondency, bordering on blank despair, as to our capacity to produce anything, and he left us with the confidence, and the courage which have enabled us to accomplish all the laborious work of the brain. . . . It was his profound sympathy with his pupils, and his intense desire to benefit them. . . . We retain even to this day, after a lapse of forty years, some of the more striking trains of the great Doctor's burning thoughts. . . . With all this, there was something more, the power of living communication, of stimulating thought, of quickening intellectual activity."[11]

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[8] *Ibid.*, January, 1877, p. 17.

[9] Bledsoe resigned August 31, 1832.

[10] The catalogs for the years 1833-1834 and 1834-1835, each, list him as a theological student and the former as a tutor and the latter as Assistant Instructor in Mathematics.

[11] Dr. Sparrow was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1801; lived in Ireland, 1805-1817; attended Columbia College, 1819-1822; and taught ancient languages at Miami, and in 1825, at Kenyon. In 1826 he took over theological work combining with it parochial work and the editing of a church paper. In 1840 he became a professor in the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia, where he died in 1874.

The good Doctor through the classroom and the Thursday evening meetings encouraged his pupils to examine, compare, study, reason, and think for themselves.

Upon the recommendation of Bishop McIlvaine, Bledsoe was ordained to the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church following the Cincinnati Convention in 1835. The opportunity now came to both teach and preach, as Professor of Mathematics at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, and parish work in the nearby town of Hamilton.

The work in mathematics was similar to that pursued now in a good high school. In his report to the board of trustees he remarked on another phase of his work: "I have also heard a Sabbath recitation from the Freshman class. At these recitations we have endeavored to study as closely as possible the greater part of the Epistle to the Romans in the original. These recitations have been pleasing, and if I am not mistaken useful both to the cultivation of the head and the heart."[12]

A quarrel had arisen some years before between President Robert H. Bishop and Professor William H. McGuffey over the latter's desire to teach some of the subjects taught in the President's department. The anti-slavery views of the President added fuel to the flame. McGuffey chose to attack his superior on the ground of his lack of discipline. Bledsoe, trained at West Point in strict disciplinary principles and being opposed to the anti-slavery movement, fell under the influence of McGuffey. The quarrel grew intense in the spring of 1836 and Bledsoe's demand for the impeachment of the President brought the quarrel before the board of trustees, who sustained him, forcing Bledsoe's resignation.[13]

He was, according to a member of the faculty, "too straightforward, perhaps in his honesty and candour for his prudence, or at least for his own comfort."[14] "From beginning to end, it was all, as you know, a complete system of dissembling with me," commented Bledsoe six months later. The bitter pen he was to wield as an editor years later fills his letters to Professor McGuffey, who had become President of Cincinnati College.

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[12] *Minutes* of the Board of Trustees, 1809-1842, March 28, 1836, p. 348.
[13] I am indebted to James H. Rodabaugh, author of *History of Miami University to 1845*, for the facts of this controversy. Bledsoe's letter of resignation was dated July 25, 1836.
[14] Dr. J. W. Scott to Board of Trustees, September, 1836—cited in S. C. Gladden, *Albert Taylor Bledsoe.*

Through his association with Bishop McIlvaine, Bledsoe had come to know and love Harriet Coxe, sister of the bishop's wife. Miss Coxe was the youngest child of William Coxe of Burlington, New Jersey. To this happy union, broken only by the death of the father forty-one years later, were born seven children. Four girls survived childhood and Sophia McIlvaine, 1837-1919, aided her father in editing the *Southern Review* and later was a well-known writer and editor of *Scribners*.

The six months following his resignation, the ex-mathematics professor served as rector of Grace Episcopal Church of Sandusky, Ohio. Here he suffered much from the fever and ague, and poverty of the parish, receiving only one-half of his seven hundred dollar salary. The last fact evoked a letter of bitter scorn from Bishop McIlvaine who had induced his brother-in-law to take the position. For a time in 1837 he served as asssitant minister of Christ Church, Cincinnati. Two years later he was displaced from the ministry at his own request for causes not affecting his moral character. There were two or three of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal Church that he considered "utterly inconsistent with the teachings of Christ, as well as with the eternal immutable dictates of reason."[15] He could not administer the rite of infant baptism according to the formula in the Episcopal Prayer Book. With the passionate candor which was perhaps the most marked characteristic of his mind, he refused to explain it away.

"He was in perfect accord," said his daughter, Sophia, "then and during the rest of his life, with the Articles as expurgated by Wesley; and he wished at that time to enter the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but he frankly did not endorse some of its methods in church government. He was young and unknown, and never was a successful preacher; and so his application for admission was denied."[16]

A generation later, in 1872, he entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, though he never held a regular charge. His sermons were long, dry metaphysical discourses. Ungainly in person, hesitating in speech, awkward in manner, and without a single grace of the orator to offset his defects, he had to rely solely on the force of his argument.[17]

[15] *Southern Review*, October, 1870, p. 424.
[16] Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, *Methodist Review*, April, 1915.
[17] S. A. Steel, *Eminent Men I Met Along the Sunny Road*, p. 34.

THE LAWYER

There is a tradition that Bledsoe practised law in Carrollton, Illinois, in the late thirties, but the first proof of his activities in the law is his admittance to the roll of attorneys, March 15, 1839, which entitled him to practice before the Supreme Court of Illinois. It appears that he settled in the capital city of Illinois the same year and the next February formed a partnership with Jesse B. Thomas for practice in the federal and state courts and in the courts of the first and eighth circuits.[18]

In his first case in the Supreme Court, *Jeremiah A. Townsend & Mary C. Townsend* v. *Stephen Griggs,* he represented the defendant and won his case, the beginning of a brilliant career before the highest tribunal of the state.

Most of his cases were in the firm name of Baker and Bledsoe, a partnership with Edward D. Baker being formed soon after the dissolution of Thomas & Bledsoe. In a total of sixty-four cases in six years in the supreme court, he won some thirty-seven. Sophia Bledsoe recalled the time when her father was awarded a basket of champagne for winning more cases than any other lawyer.[19] This was probably the year 1843 when he won ten and lost seven cases. In a dozen of them he was opposed to Abraham Lincoln, but curiously they never appeared on the same side in any suit.

"His peculiar cast of mind," said his daughter, "was much better suited to winning cases than to making a good financial showing as a result of his law practice. A lack of business capacity and training, together with a very tender heart for people in trouble, combined to produce a poor pecuniary result."[20] A young man who visited the law office in 1843 described him as of a logical mind, acute, learned, versatile, able, and powerful in any field of thought.[21]

In the interests of the Whig party, Bledsoe and Lincoln worked hand in hand. The Young Men's Whig Convention in Springfield in the 1840 campaign brought a multitude to the little frontier capital of twenty-five hundred. It was an outpouring of the people, like soldiers marching to battle to the music of fife and

[18] *Illinois State Register,* Springfield, Illinois, February 21, 1840. This partnership was dissolved August 15, 1840. *Sangamo Journal,* August 28, 1840.

[19] *Alumni Bulletin,* University of Virginia, May, 1899.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Samuel Willard, "Personal Reminiscences of Life in Illinois—1830-1850," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 1906, p. 86.

drum, with flags, tents, and commissary. In lumbering wagons drawn by mules, horses, or plodding oxen, they moved onto the camp ground where they were met by the marshals, mounted and on parade in uniform. Doctor Merryman, the chief marshal, was gaudily attired as were the five assistant-chief marshals. As one of this quintet, Bledsoe wore a pink scarf with white rosettes and carried a white baton. The convention feature was a parade some two and one-half miles in length.

Active in the "Clay Club" in 1842, he signed the petition along with Lincoln and A. G. Henry urging Henry Clay to make his first journey to Illinois.[22] His refusal did not dampen their ardor. The Whig meeting in Springfield, March 1, 1843, resolved; "That, A. T. Bledsoe, S. T. Logan, and A. Lincoln be appointed a committee to prepare an address to the people of the state."[23]

The address laid down the six principal articles of faith of the party to be used in the congressional campaign in August and in the national election the year following. It declared for a protective tariff and against direct taxation as a means of national revenue. This address, which appears to have been mainly the product of Lincoln's pen, demanded a National Bank, which has "the sanction of the Supreme Court, the most enlightened judicial tribunal in the world." Clay's Land Bill, the naming of candidates for congress in every district regardless of chances for Whig success, and the adoption of the convention system for nominating candidates were other issues ably argued.

In his excellent eulogy on the "Life and Character of William Henry Harrison" before the people of Springfield on the first of May, 1841,[24] he had expressed the hope that the mantle and principles of the dead President would be carried out by his successor. The failure of Tyler to follow the strict Whig policy had prompted the declaration of the six principles listed above.

EDITOR

The love of controversy was deep rooted in Albert Taylor Bledsoe. He expressed his views with much force in contributions to the Whig newspaper, the *Sangamo Journal*. When it took the name of *Illinois Journal* in 1847, he became the editorial writer.

[22] Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works*, Vol. I, p. 242.
[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 72ff.
[24] *Sangamo Journal*, May 14, 1841.

The first production of his pen said: "We are firmly and immovably persuaded that all political power, if rightfully possessed, is derived from the people and that all political power, if rightfully exercised, is employed for the good of the people. . . . The good of the people is then the one grand and controlling object for which all laws and government should be constructed."[25]

In a flowery eulogy of General Taylor as a coming President he declared, "When, through incredible deeds of valor, victory was made to perch upon our standard, every brain was intoxicated with the glory our arms had achieved." Long editorials appeared on "The Spirit of Liberty," "Law of Honor," free trade, with eulogies of Calhoun and a defense of Thomas Corwin's stand on the Mexican War. The democratic *State Register* turned its sarcasm on the new editorial writer with this conclusion: "We hoped to find, in Mr. Bledsoe, a fair opponent, but the hair splitting ratiocination and nice philological nothings which seem to be his highest aim, are rather small potatoes for those who do not write solely for their own amusement."[26]

Many editorials indicate his growing interest in philosophical speculation. The following extracts are from a lengthy article on "The Nature of Civil Liberty:"[27] "Thus, it is that civil society arises, not from a surrender of individual rights, but from a right originally possessed by all, and which is upheld and supported by the will of all in the enactments of law. . . . Hence the law, in requiring us to submit, imposes a restraint, not upon liberty, but upon our depravity. . . . Hence the law which forbids such things is a restraint, not upon natural liberty, but upon the natural tyranny of mankind."

This editorial work continued until the summer of 1848, when, soon after his law partner Col. E. D. Baker moved to Galena, Illinois, notice came of his election as Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the newly organized University of Mississippi.

Years later he was to remark of these two fields of study: "A sheep skin, even from the academy (West Point) can no more make a great mathematician than it can make a great general;" but "of all the physical sciences, astronomy is, beyond question,

[25] *Illinois Journal*, September 10, 1847.
[26] *Illinois State Register*, September 24, 1847.
[27] *Illinois Journal*, April 13, 1848.

the most ennobling and sublime; expanding the mind, and filling the imagination with grand conceptions of the infinite power and wisdom, goodness and glory of God."[28]

The selection of Bledsoe over sixty-three other applicants was due in part to testimonials relating to his first book, published three years previously, entitled, *An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry Into the Freedom of the Will*, and to his writings in the leading reviews of the country.[29]

His reputation as a lawyer was instrumental in securing the position, especially the two years (1844-1845) spent in Washington in partnership with Richard S. Coxe, his brother-in-law and leader of the bar. He argued three cases before the United States Supreme Court, one of them successfully.

Eighty students came to the interior town of Oxford to attend the new university. It was remote from the great thoroughfares with no railroad.

"The University was well equipped. 'The campus, which was of great natural beauty, was located,' writes Waddel, 'in the center of a section of land (about a mile to the west of Oxford) donated by the citizens of the town and of the country. Laid out in the form of a circle some two hundred yards in diameter, its circumference was occupied by dormitories, residences for faculty members, a chapel, and a Lyceum. The Lyceum, the most prominent building on the campus, occupied the central point of the circle at its highest elevation, with the other buildings on the right and left at successive points until the circle was complete. It was an imposing structure, three stories high, with a front portico supported by six large and handsome columns. . . . The dormitories were of uniform height with the Lyceum. Adjacent to the dormitories were two double-tenement buildings also of three stories in height, built for the Professors.' "[30]

No preparation above arithmetic was required to enter the mathematics classes. The students proved to be idle, uncultivated, and ungovernable, and given to much rowdiness and drunkenness.

In his classes Bledsoe put them through a large amount of individual work at the blackboard, maintained rigid discipline and

[28] *Southern Review*, January, 1873, p. 97. April, 1869, p. 446.
[29] Memorandum Book of A. T. Bledsoe, 1868. The salary was $1,500 a year.
[30] J. D. Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet*, p. 298.

gave thorough training. The faculty served more as a body to discipline students than as an executive group to govern the school. The four members of the faculty met each morning before classes began. Disciplinary problems were many, and the demerit system provided fifteen demerits for a fight, ten for drinking; intoxication bringing dismissal.

President George F. Holmes was compelled to return to Virginia on account of sickness in his family in the spring of 1849. This made Bledsoe acting president for the remainder of the year. In his commencement address in July, it is noteworthy and probably consistent with the experiences of this first session, that he discussed total depravity as a factor to be considered in educational work.[31]

The friendship with Jefferson Davis, begun at West Point, was revived. As a visitor in the Bledsoe home he appeared to the eldest daughter "as a great, dignified man, slender of frame, and very courteous in manner."[32]

L. Q. C. Lamar, destined to fame as a statesman, served as an Adjunct Professor of Mathematics from 1850 to 1852. Seldom have two such massive and brilliant intellects been so closely associated in the same work.

Six years to a day from his appointment his resignation was read and accepted by the board of trustees. To express their high appreciation of his eminent attainments in science and learning they conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon him. Kenyon College also honored her former student and instructor in the same way.[33]

Bledsoe's election to the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Virginia came upon the recommendation of his old West Point schoolmates, Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. Applicants for the position included Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson, and his classmate William N. Pendleton. The latter had finished first in mathematics and Bledsoe second, but withdrew from the contest as he would not place himself in competition with one so dear to him.

A contemporary account describes Bledsoe as "an earnest and single-hearted man, who, more than most studious men, forms a connecting link between the past and the future. Emphatically a

[31] *Historical Catalog, 1849-1909*, of University of Mississippi, p. 8.
[32] Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, *Methodist Review*, April, 1915, pp. 666-679.
[33] Professor Sanford C. Gladden of the University of Mississippi has furnished much material which cannot be included in this sketch.

Albert Taylor Bledsoe

scholar in his habits and tastes, devoted to the labors of his responsible position, avoiding the scenes of public life and popular applause, seeking his highest inspiration in the investigation of his favorite themes, he makes a more profound impression on the world than can be readily imagined by those who are insensible to the subtle character of the scholar's influence. We believe it is conceded that this gentleman is far in advance of his contemporaries, both in just conceptions of the purposes of education and in sound and exact learning."[34]

At the university was his old friend William H. McGuffey; now well known as the author of the *McGuffey Readers.*

When the Civil War was three months old the Board of Visitors of the University requested Bledsoe to fill temporarily the Chair of Military Science and Civil Engineering. He did not accept this offer, preferring to take the field as Colonel of the Thirty-sixth Regiment, though he did return to the campus for a few months in the spring of 1863. The decision to follow his state was a bitter one, says his daughter Sophia, but the decision when made was unreservedly made. He was an anti-secessionist of a family of abolitionists and had a northern wife who hated slavery.

As an officer he saw no active service for he was soon Chief of the Bureau of War. The appointment came from President Davis without the recommendation of the Secretary of War. The work attached to the position was not the kind for which he was fitted. As a subordinate remarked, his temper was as variable as an April day—now all smiles and sunshine, but by-and-by a cloud takes all away. In April, 1862, Colonel Bledsoe was appointed Assistant Secretary of War, a position he held unhappily until the latter part of September.[35] Years later he wrote, "the War Department in a Democracy. . . . If, in this wide universe, there be a purgatory, that was one. A simple, earnest, frail mortal, with swarms of politicians and office seekers, all bent on their own little private ends, forever tugging at his elbows, sides, brains, and nerves, and never permitting him to devote the little sense he had to the most glorious cause the world has ever seen."[36]

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[34] Mary Jane Windle, *Life in Washington and Life Here and There,* pp. 359-360.

[35] J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary.* (These two volumes have much material on Bledsoe's connections with the War Department.)

[36] *Southern Review,* July, 1872, p. 148. Bledsoe had a bitter quarrel with Alexander H. Stephens over the expressions concerning the war office in Stephens' two volumes, *Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States.* The controversy is outlined in the *Southern Review,* July, 1872, pp. 120-156.

Mrs. Jefferson Davis once drove to the War Office and asked that Bledsoe come out to her carriage to speak with her. He came, looking very distracted, his eyes blank, with a pen stuck behind his ear. "Doctor," she said, "I want you to be godfather to my child." He replied, "Godfather to your fiddlesticks, Madam," and turned and went back into the War Office.[37]

ENGLAND

Determined to produce a work on the causes of the Civil War, and being without the proper sources in the South, Bledsoe sailed for England in September, 1863, after running the blockade to Bermuda. The legality of secession and the false interpretation of the Constitution by the leaders of the North had become an obsession since the time when he helped draw up the first draft of the constitution of the Confederacy.

In a letter of introduction to the Duke of Argyll, Cornelia Grinnan said: "He is well known at home by the power of his argumentative pen, possessing great force of generalization, accompanied by a racy and lucid style. By his friends he is highly valued for his genial conversation, kind disposition, and Christian virtues."[38]

Received kindly on all sides with invitations to dinners and social events, the majority of the time for the next two years was spent in the British Museum. No introduction was needed here as four of his books were on their shelves. Professor Hewitt of the University of London, and Professor Henry L. Mansel, Dean of St. Paul's, were especially friendly.

In January, 1866, he came back, took the oath of allegiance, and went to Baltimore to live. There he wrote the volume for which he had been gathering material, intending to call it *Is Secession a Constitutional Right?* At the urgent request of Jefferson Davis, then in Fortress Monroe awaiting trial, the book was published and the title changed to *Is Davis a Traitor: or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Previous to the War of 1861?*

The sole object of the work was to discuss the right of secession with reference to the past, in order to vindicate the character

[37] *Alumni Bulletin*, University of Virginia, May, 1899.
[38] Cornelia Grinnan to the Duke of Argyll, Fredericksburg, Virginia, September 12, 1863. Bledsoe MSS.

of the South for loyalty, and to wipe off the charges of treason and rebellion from the Southern leaders.

Thaddeus Stevens and Edwin M. Stanton both read the book and pronounced it unanswerable. Charles O'Connor, the lawyer defending Mr. Davis, said that he never could have saved the President's life without the material collected together in the book. The late Senator Beveridge said it was one of the best, if, indeed, not the best condensed statement of the Southern point of view.[39]

Though a follower of Webster and Story for a generation, Bledsoe broke with them on the right of a state to secede. After the South had lost the war, there was little also left her except the opportunity to establish by reason rather than by passion the right of secession. The Constitution of 1787 was a compact, and the war shifted the federal government from the basis of compact to that of conquest.

"The theme of this little volume," said Bledsoe, "in itself and without words, is at once a sermon and a history. It tells of a change in the political institutions of a mighty nation more rapid and more thorough than any other which the annals of men record. It points to the melancholy spectacle of a government, founded on consent and consecrated to freedom, converted by the willing hands of a majority of the people whose birth-right it was, into a despotism controlled by popular passion and sectional interest. It signalizes, by a conspicuous and incontestable example, the substitution of a scheme of arbitrary violence, for a system based on written constitution and ruling and punishing only through its laws. More sad, a thousand fold, than all, it proclaims to us—whether as cause or effect it is unnecessary here to discuss—the decadence of that high and manly spirit, that generous and wholesome sense of right, that love of justice and fair-play, which animated and exalted our once noble institutions, through the first stage of their development, as with the inspiration of a great and living soul."[40]

The cost of the trip to England and the publication of the book were paid from funds belonging to Mrs. Bledsoe. It was a task of unrequited toil, as many copies being given away as were

[39] A. J. Beveridge to David R. Barbee, in Barbee's *An Excursion into Southern History.*

[40] *Southern Review,* January, 1867, p. 233.

sold. The consolation came in the knowledge that a service had been rendered to the one of whom Bledsoe said: "for if ever the tender and compassionate soul of woman was encased in the iron will of a hero it was in the character of Jefferson Davis."[41]

SOUTHERN REVIEW

Not being satisfied with a career as minister, lawyer, professor, author, and Assistant Secretary of War, Doctor Bledsoe in 1867 founded, edited, and wrote the major portion of a quarterly journal, the *Southern Review*. Eleven large bound volumes, each of one thousand pages, attest to his arduous labor for the next eleven years.

The articles were usually headed by a list of books that he had read, with his comments and his own thinking on the question. The articles in the first issue are typical of what was to come after: Education of the World; American Viri Romae (a detailed review of a Latin text-book); The Legal Status of the Southern States; Craftsmen's Associations in France; the Daughters of De Nesle (a study of the court life of Louis XV); Mental Physiology; Earl Stanhope's Life of Pitt; and, Imprisonment of Davis. In eleven years, two hundred and seventy-five leading articles appeared. Of these, one hundred were on literature, eighty on theology, fifty on science, forty on politics, and thirty-six on biography.

Robert E. Lee wrote: "I am to learn that you purpose to devote yourself to the discussion of the questions of literature and history and hope that through the vehicle you have selected . . . they will be presented to the American people in an agreeable, convincing manner."[42]

The *Review* was a financial burden from the start, the editor lacking business ability, but the failure was also due to the poverty of the South and the fact that many poor preachers were supplied with free copies. The recommendation of the *Review* by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, during the seventies, did not help its financial status.

The eldest daughter, Sophia, who had written articles for some years, took charge of the business end of the magazine in January,

[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Robert E. Lee to A. T. Bledsoe, Lexington, Virginia, October 8, 1866. Bledsoe MSS.

1875. L. Q. C. Lamar said of her: "Sophia has a rich and powerful nature, and my mind and character have never come in contact with her without imbibing a conscious enrichment and increase of moral strength."[43]

The subscription list probably never exceeded three thousand in America. It was issued simultaneously in London, after April, 1870, by Trübner & Company.

There was a large element of truth in the editor's prophecy, when in 1870 he said, "We may also indulge the imagination that regular lines of flying-packets will be established between Europe and America by which the two continents will be put into direct personal communication within (possibly) little more than twenty-four hours. If nations should go to war, a battle between two aerial fleets would be a sublime spectacle, though terrible to see."[44]

Two years later he declared he had contributed two thousand pages to the first reviews in America and in Europe, not including the average of one hundred pages of material for each issue of his own publication.[45]

It was always the theoretical problems that interested and attracted him. When these were mastered and the solution plain, he lost all interest and had to force himself to prepare his solutions for publication.

Though for fifteen years a mathematics professor he regarded theology as the queen of sciences, metaphysics her handmaiden, and mathematics next in order.

In a sketch of her father, Sophia wrote: "My father was an omnivorous reader, and, strange to say, he had a most marvelous memory, and could turn at once to the source of his information. I have frequently been called upon to go over some quotation from memory and compare it with the original; there was rarely a word, and not often even a comma, out of place.

"He was a bitter antagonist in a fight, but no one, in all his life of polemical warfare, ever accused him of misstating his antagonist's position. He loved a fair fight, as well as the truth, and was afraid of nothing. He held in the utmost contempt the

[43] L. Q. C. Lamar to Anne Bledsoe, Washington, D. C., March 24, 1890. Bledsoe MSS. Sophia Bledsoe Herrick was later one of the editors of *Scribners Magazine*.
[44] *Southern Review*, July, 1870, p. 80.
[45] *Ibid.*, July, 1872, p. 229.

habit of giving to the world what was not the fruit of honest and earnest study.

"A little book was once sent to him for an opinion. The writer accompanied it with a note saying that it was a little thing he had thrown off at his leisure; that he had not looked at the subject for twenty years. 'After reading the book, I should not suppose you had. Yours, etc.' Another book he had commented on, in reply to its author, in this way: 'Your book has in it many new things and many true things; but, unfortunately, none of the true things are new, and none of the new things are true.' "[46]

The *Southern Review* was dedicated to the despised, disfranchised, and down trodden people of the South. Money making was not its objective; to toil unceasingly, to be a slave for the South was the editor's ambition. His writings represent the attitude of the unreconstructed Southerner in the decade after the Civil War. At the end of the decade he wrote: "Slight indeed is the incentive to undertake so thankless a task as to become the historian of a 'lost cause.' "[47]

Woman's suffrage was a subject of disfavor; he ridiculed the industrialism of the New South, advocated by De Bow's *Review;* expressed strong opposition to the whole tendency toward uniformity and standardization of the infidel and utilitarian public school system. He favored capital punishment for the good of society.

Through the many articles there is a transparency of thought, a simplicity of style, a freedom and fluency of expression that gives them a peculiar charm unabated by their depth and logical power.

THEODICY

The first book from Doctor Bledsoe's pen was *An Examination of President Edwards' Inquiry Into the Freedom of the Will,* published in 1845. This study began at the suggestion of his theological professor at Kenyon. After leaving college, he wrote letters to Professor Sparrow at intervals as new phases of the subject were thought out. These eighteen letters, unmailed, became the chapters of the book. It was pronounced by the Professor, to whom it was dedicated, a complete refutation of Edwards.[48]

[46] *Alumni Bulletin,* University of Virginia, May, 1899.
[47] *Southern Review,* October, 1876, p. 370.
[48] *Ibid.,* July, 1876, p. 27.

Though it did not gain proselytes to its doctrines, it did draw forth homage to the superiority of its dialectics.

Bledsoe came to the conclusion, that the whole scheme of moral necessity which Edwards labored to establish was founded in error and delusion.

His studies connected with the work on *The Will*, and the ideas they fixed in his mind, led naturally to the conception of *A Theodicy*. The leading idea, that a necessary holiness is no holiness at all, stood out in his mind as 'the one bright particular star' of the whole system. If God is a rational being, He cannot do an irrational thing. God cannot lie, because He is the essential truth. If a necessary virtue is an absurdity, and God cannot do an absurd thing, then He cannot be held responsible for the presence of evil in the world.

The *Theodicy* convinced its readers of two things at least: first, "that the only kind of being God could create consistent with his perfection was a moral being like man; and, secondly, that it was far more consistent with His perfection to create moral beings like man, even fore-knowing that they would sin, than not to create at all."[49]

The *Theodicy*, published in 1854, was turned down by many publishers on account of the unpopularity of the subject. However, it sold three editions of one thousand each, in four months, and in England it was well received. Some thirty thousand copies had been sold in 1869, when the author prepared an appendix. The five hundred dollars received for this was the only return received from the work. Bledsoe spent part of his last years on the composition of a theodicy in verse. The thought of thirty years went into the *Theodicy;* twenty more years of thinking brought forth *The Cosmos; or, System of the Spiritual Universe.*[50]

A quotation from the introduction may well illustrate the reasoning of the work: "Is love the universal law of the universe of Mind? Does it embrace all, and does it explain all, the phenomena of the moral universe, as constituted and governed by its divine Author? We answer, Yes. 'God is love;' and there is nothing—absolutely nothing—in His boundless empire, which is not an expression of His love. His love dwells in the gloom of

[49] S. A. Steel, *Eminent Men I Met Along the Sunny Road*, p. 44.
[50] *Southern Review*, January, April, July, and October, 1878.

hell, as certainly as in the glory of heaven. The universe of spirit, is, in each and every one of its manifestations of features, as well as in the harmonious union of all combined, wonderfully bright with the impress of infinite love. The frightful discord which reigns here below, is no more an exception to the one, universal, and eternal law of love, than is the sweet concord that reigns in the realms of sinless glory. 'God is all in all;' and yet in all 'God is love,'—infinite, boundless, immaculate, spotless love.

"This is, and long has been, our faith. For more than forty years, indeed, has this faith in the infinite, eternal, and spotless love of God, animated all our thoughts, and inspired all our meditations. How could we believe in God, if, in fact, there were any spot of darkness, or stain of hate, in His character? God is either love: or else He is not a God. But here the great question is: 'Can this article of our faith be realized as a conviction of our reason?' This is the question discussed in *The Cosmos.*"[51]

Prior to the war had appeared Bledsoe's book on *Liberty and Slavery.* This, the least forcible of his works, expressed his belief that patriarchial slavery had a Biblical warrant. Slavery, to him, was a problem to be solved not on sentimental grounds, but by bringing the highest good to the greatest number. "We have," he wrote, "deemed it wise and proper to notice only the more decent, respectable, and celebrated among the Abolitionists of the North. . . . We have deemed it a duty to lay bare their pompous vanities. We hope they will concur with us in the conclusion that the institution of slavery, as it exists among us in the South, is founded in political justice, is in accordance with the will of God and the designs of His Providence, and is conducive to the highest, purest, and best interests of mankind."[52]

After listing seventeen fallacies of the abolitionists, he declared the abolitionist talked and reasoned and declaimed just as if the slaveholder had caught a bevy of black angels as they were winging their way to some island of purity and bliss here upon earth.[53]

The right to work is all the ownership which any man can rightfully have in another. The abolitionist was granted the soul of the slave. The master might not use the slave as a tree or a

[51] *Southern Review*, January, 1878, p. 115.
[52] A. T. Bledsoe, *An Essay on Liberty and Slavery*, pp. 7-8.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

brute, but only as a rational, accountable, and immortal being might be used.

Amid his multifarious duties as editor of the *Southern Review,* Bledsoe found time to bring together his thoughts on mathematics into a work entitled *The Philosophy of Mathematics, with a Special Reference to the Elements of Geometry and the Infinitesimal Method.*

The objective of the work he stated as follows: "If, then, we would introduce anything like the order, harmony, and beauty of real mathematical science into the transcendental analysis, the first step to be taken is to exhibit its first principles in a clear and unmistakable light. My object in this work is to contribute all in my power toward so desirable a result; or, in other words, to render as clear as possible the fundamental principles of the higher calculus."[54]

He traced the rise and progress of the infinitesimal analysis from the first appearance of its elements in the Greek geometry to the present day. Then he disclosed in clear lights, the merits of the various methods of the calculus in the successive stages of its development from Euclid and Archimedes to Cavalieri and Pascal, and from Cavalieri and Pascal to Newton and Leibnitz.

PERSONAL CHARACTER

Albert Taylor Bledsoe possessed many qualities that made him an unusual man. He was visionary in practical matters, having a strong distaste for the details of business, and yet unable to delegate them to any one else. The work at hand as it neared completion dwindled in importance as his interest grew in the next job to be taken up, making it hard for him to finish a task.

Essentially a controversalist, and entirely fearless, he was often bitter and sometimes unjust in his judgments. His faults were mainly of temperament and temper. Writing for hours with intense concentration on the subject produced a nervous strain that made him unconscious of what he was saying. Due to this, visitors often took away an unfavorable impression.

He was naturally unpopular with his opponents; but in social life he was popular. Detesting newspapers, novels, and letter writing, he lived much out of the world. Whist was one of the

[54] A. T. Bledsoe, *The Philosophy of Mathematics,* p. 11.

few games he played for amusement. Many summers were spent in the mountains at Yellow Sulphur Springs in Western Virginia.

The last three years saw a great change, his disposition softened and sweetened. All his conflicts were in the past; and the bitterness of strife gave place to the sweetness of love. He died December 9, 1877, in Alexandria, Virginia, and was buried near his friend William H. McGuffey in the cemetery of the University of Virginia.

BLEDSOE AND LINCOLN

Abraham Lincoln and Albert T. Bledsoe were both new residents in Springfield, Illinois, in the late thirties, and both families lived in the Globe Tavern in 1843. Both Whigs, they served on various party committees together, and met each other a dozen times before the bar of the Supreme Court of the state. The details of these connections have been given, but there is yet to add their intimate contact in the famous Lincoln-Shields duel. Bledsoe, it appears, gave Lincoln what instruction he had in the use of the broadsword; then accompanied the party to the scene of battle. When the duel was called off, it was upon Bledsoe's suggestion, says his daughter,[55] that they placed a log in one of the boats to give the appearance of the defeated man, as the party returned to the Alton shore.

The friends of Lincoln, Dr. E. H. Merryman and William Butler, and Bledsoe drew up on the twenty-second of September, 1842, the paper in which they declared that Lincoln "had no intention of injuring the personal or private character or standing of Mr. Shields as a gentleman or a man."[56]

After 1848, when the Springfield lawyer became the mathematics professor at the University of Mississippi, his ideas changed and he took on the views of an ardent Southerner. In 1861 he wrote to Stephen A. Douglas, "I looked to the action of the Charleston Convention with an anxiety which words can hardly express. No political event has ever caused me so bitter a pang as the failure of your nomination. Not even the election of Lincoln; for after the split in that Convention; I looked upon his election as certain."[57]

[55] Sophia Bledsoe Herrick, *Methodist Review*, April 15, 1915.
[56] Herndon and Weik, *Life of Lincoln*, p. 202.
[57] A. T. Bledsoe to Stephen A. Douglas, February 6, 1861. Douglas MSS.

The outcome of the Civil War, to Bledsoe's mind, was due to the horde of foreign mercenaries in the Northern Army; in every other way the South was superior. Bitterness toward his old friend Abraham Lincoln was not changed by the martyrdom of the President nor softened by the years. The publication of Ward H. Lamon's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* brought from his pen a fifty-page article in the *Southern Review* of April, 1873.

> Some persons will think it a great honor, and some a great disgrace, that we have lived eight long years in the same region with Abraham Lincoln, and held almost daily intercourse with him at the Bar. We think it neither an honor nor a disgrace. We regard it, on the contrary, merely a piece of good fortune, that we have had the opportunity of seeing, scrutinizing, and forming an opinion of one of the most extraordinary human beings that has figured in history. This world will, perhaps, know him a little better because we have known him.
>
> He was, take him all in all, one of the most incomprehensible personages we have ever known. He was, indeed, so little like other men, that other men could not penetrate the mystery of his peculiar make and mode of being.[58]

William H. Herndon, declared Bledsoe, fell short as an interpreter and biographer of Mr. Lincoln. He understood only what was little, and low, and mean in Lincoln's character; there was much that reached beyond the range of his vision. Mr. Lincoln was a very superstitious man having great faith in spirit-rapping and revelations.

The Hon. John T. Stuart confessed that the character of Mr. Lincoln was always a puzzle, an enigma, a mystery to him. "So has he always been to us," wrote Bledsoe.[59]

The Lamon biography cleared up many points concerning Lincoln that had puzzled Bledsoe. He could trace step by step the process by which the mechanism of the material universe was unveiled, but he was overwhelmed and confounded by the mysteries of the single individual, Abraham Lincoln. "It has taught us," he said, "at least, one great lesson, the lesson of humility."[60] Unable to fully diagnose the character of Mr. Lincoln, he fell back on Hume's definition: "Man is a bundle of contradictions," and went on to discuss only what he understood.

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[58] *Southern Review*, April, 1873, p. 328.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 330.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

"Mr. Lincoln had a powerful intellect," he declared, "and was powerful in a law argument." He accepted the fine tribute of Judge Davis to Lincoln's qualities as a lawyer. Davis, in an address to the Indianapolis bar in May, 1865, had pointed out his ability to seize the strong points of a cause, and present them with clearness and compactness, the unfailing vein of humor, the power of comparison, of the necessity of his being convinced of the right and justice of the matter he advocated.

Bledsoe had carried a clear impression for a quarter century of Lincoln's indifference to law books, his power of patient thought, his ability to distinguish, analyze, and meditate; considering his deficiencies, his ability was truly wonderful.

He denounced the story that Norman B. Judd of Chicago prepared Lincoln's speeches in the contest with Douglas as untrue. "No other man in Illinois," wrote Bledsoe, "could have done that work for him. . . . He was a full match for Mr. Douglas or for any other man of the day, on the stump or before the people."[61]

Bledsoe was present at the 'skinning of Jesse Thomas;' where every word delivered in a conversational style was a real 'rail splitter.' The homely strength and rustic beauty of expression; the simple, terse, and direct English went home to the point and made Thomas blubber like a baby and withdraw from the assembly. He cried the rest of the day and went to Bledsoe's office for sympathy. This ability as an orator was acquired by Lincoln by careful reflection and self-cultivation. "The simplicity and nerve of his style, as well as a great encouragement to the profane and obscene habits of his mind," came to Lincoln from his reading of Robert Burns. Bledsoe lamented the greater relish of the vulgarity, than of the grandeur, that Lincoln found in his favorite poet and prose writer, because he passed by *"The Mountain Daisy"* to memorize *"Holy Willie's Prayer."*[62]

Lincoln was a child of destiny, whose ruling passion was not understood by Doctor Bledsoe until he had read Lamon's work. "We have seen him in Springfield," said Bledsoe, "and that, too, after the only time he was ever in Congress, in such low repute among his neighbors, and with his former political friends, that he could not have been elected a constable or a justice of the peace.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 332.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

Again have we seen him, when he was a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the American people, with the almost certain prospect of election. We have seen him when there was none so poor as to do him reverence; and again, have we seen his well-known face in shop windows in all the great streets of London, as they were in those of all the great cities of the civilized world. How strange! how wonderful! When he was nominated for the Presidency, we pondered much and marvelled what this strange thing could mean, and, at last, we came to the conclusion that it was the design of Providence to put infinite contempt upon the doctrine of universal suffrage. But all this was perhaps only the evidence of Southern blindness—the ruling passion of the great Northern hero is perfectly clear to our minds.

"This ruling passion was Lincoln's wonderful thirst for distinction."[63]

He accepted Lamon's description of Lincoln as "morbid, moody, meditative, thinking much of himself and the things pertaining to himself . . . a man apart from his kind . . . neither a good hater nor a fond friend. . . . He had no reverence for great men, followed no leader with blind devotion, and yielded no opinion to mere authority. He felt that he was as great as anybody, and could do what another did."[64]

"Popularity," declared Bledsoe, "was Mr. Lincoln's idol, and this idol, like the head of Medusa, turns into stone those upon whom its eyes are fixed. The apparently warm grasp of the hand, which he had for every man he met, and the seemingly hearty salutation—'Howdy, howdy'—was really as cold as marble, and as hollow as it was cold."[65]

That President Lincoln did not give more positions to those who had befriended him, such as William Butler, was an indication to Editor Bledsoe that he "did nothing out of gratitude, *and forgot the devotion of his warmest partisans as soon as the occasion for their services had passed.*"

"Truly, Mr. Lincoln was a reticent man. From our various conversations with him on the subject of religion, we had supposed that we had some adequate idea of his religious sentiments, but Colonel Lamon's work has dispelled this illusion. He never gave

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340.
[64] Ward H. Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 480-481.
[65] *Southern Review*, April, 1873, p. 352.

us to understand, it is true, that he entertained a belief in the being of a God, or in a moral government of the world, much less in the truth of Christianity. But he always seemed to deplore his want of faith as a very great infelicity, from which he would be glad to be delivered; and all this was uttered with an air of such apparent modesty, that his gloom and despair, seeming to border on a state of insanity, awakened in our minds no other feeling than one of deep compassion. Great has been our surprise, therefore, to learn from the record of his life, that, in his conversations with young men during the same period, he showed himself to be possessed by the little, low, mean, malignant, scoffing, and sneering devil of disbelief. The low ribaldry of Tom Paine, such as that Christ was a bastard, and the like, we had supposed would have been as inconsistent with the state of his mind, and as far removed from his lips, as from those of the other thoughtful infidels of the present day."[66]

Bledsoe considered Lincoln an atheist, "especially when his love affairs, or his political prospects, were dark and gloomy. He seemed to think that the universe had no use of a God, unless it was to gratify his one ruling and all-absorbing passion, 'a thirst for distinction.' Hence, after he was elected President of the United States, his religious views cleared up wonderfully, and he believed that there was, after all, something like a God and a Providence."

In Bledsoe's opinion, the late President could dissemble and play the hypocrite if he could not lie outright, in order to promote his ambitious views. "Mr. Lincoln was, we admit, honest and truthful in all the ordinary affairs of life. He certainly would not lie, as we have known more than one orthodox person to do . . . but we cannot say as much for his political character. For we have known him, when the prize before him was far less glittering than the Presidency of the United States, to utter more than one premediated falsehood . . . Mr. Lincoln was no stickler for truth in contests before the people for political office and power. On the contrary, he entertained the opinion, that 'all is fair in politics.' It was one of his favorite maxims, that 'we must fight the devil with fire;' that is, with its own weapons . . . whether true or false, fair or foul . . . we must beat the Democrats, or the country will be ruined."[67]

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-354.
[67] *Southern Review*, April, 1873, pp. 360-361.

With caustic pen, Bledsoe scored the Whig slogans, their log cabins, hard cider, and coon skins of the 1840 campaign. It is well to remember his own part in the great Whig convention as Assistant Chief-Marshal, adorned with a pink scarf with white rosettes and carrying a white baton.

As a politician, Bledsoe declared, Lincoln would not hesitate to deceive the people, and his most intimate and devoted friends. "Among all his great 'running qualities,' indeed, this reticent, secretive, scheming art of deception, was the most conducive to the successful prosecution of his ambitious designs. His success, in this world at least, has been the wonder of all nations, and will, perhaps, be the wonder of all ages.

"We think, on the whole, that Mr. Lincoln was 'the right man in the right place.' No man fitter than he, indeed, to represent the Northern Democ; or, as Wendell Phillips has it, 'the party of the North pledged against the party of the South.' For if, as we believe, that it was the cause of brute force, blind passion, fanatical hate, lust of power, and the greed of gain, against the cause of constitutional law and human rights, then who was better fitted to represent it than the talented, but the low, ignorant and vulgar, railsplitter of Illinois?"[68]

A SUMMARY OF BLEDSOE'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN

Bledsoe had the opportunity during eight years in Springfield, Illinois, to observe and study the abilities and failings of Abraham Lincoln. Both were Whigs in the forties, but when Bledsoe wrote his criticism of Lincoln in 1862, his political views had changed and he had become antagonistic to Lincoln.

Bledsoe regarded Lincoln as a most extraordinary human being, superstitious, an enigma even to his close friends, a bundle of contradictions. He believed Lincoln had a powerful intellect, with the power of patient thought; that he proved himself an able lawyer, yet was indifferent to the study of the law, and was a full match for Douglas or any other man on the stump. Given to invective at times, Lincoln had a lonely strength and rustic beauty of expression, acquired by careful reflection and self-cultivation.

In Bledsoe's opinion he was a child of destiny, with a ruling passion for distinction, with a thirst for popularity. Among Lin-

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 364.

coln's failings, Bledsoe listed the moody, meditative thinking of himself; the craving for popularity, the insincere greeting, as cold as marble. The President was a reticent, irreligious man, ungrateful for the services of his friends. Not until his thirst for distinction had been satisfied by the Presidency did his religious views change to a belief in something like a God and a Providence. According to Bledsoe, Lincoln believed that in politics all is fair; that the devil must be fought with fire; and that the Democrats must be beaten, or the country would be ruined.

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RECORDING THE EARLY ARCHITECTURE OF ILLINOIS IN THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

By Thomas Edward O'Donnell*

Architecture, or the art of building, is one kind of historical document found expressed, not in writing, but definitely imprinted in stone, brick, metal, wood, and other forms of building materials. Through their building operations, a people leave unmistakable evidence of their life, their character, and their ideals; consequently, the architectural remains of a people are of great interest and value to the historian. Even the simple remains of the early settlers in Illinois are of vital importance in the history of the state. The pioneers, in the process of living, erected a great variety of structures ranging from the humble log cabin to the monumental State House. A sympathetic study of the old houses, taverns, mills, bridges, churches, schools, court houses, state houses, institutional, commercial and industrial buildings of Illinois, will bring to light much of historical interest and value. The complete story of the building activities of the early inhabitants of our state may be rightfully considered one phase of her whole history and development, and well worthy of being recorded.

For many years, in the older states of the East and South, a careful study has been made of the early architecture within those areas. Most of these states have many structures of both historical value and architectural merit. As a state, Illinois may be considered comparatively young, and her early architecture may appear to be provincial when compared with the more finished work of the older states, yet it should be remembered that, historically, Illinois occupied an important place in the development of our country and that a humble Lincoln cabin may be of greater historical significance than a palatial plantation home of a southern lord of colonial days. Furthermore, surveys have shown that Illinois contains many examples of early buildings of both historical and architectural value.

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In recent years the citizens of Illinois have been showing an ever-increasing interest in their historical heritage. In the general histories of the state, many of which have been published, reference is often made to structures definitely associated with historical events and personages. Every extensive historical treatise on Illinois has, of necessity, touched upon some phase of the building activities within the state, although a complete and separate recording of the architecture of the state has not, heretofore, been attempted.

Many historical and associated agencies in the state have further contributed to a broader appreciation of and a deeper interest in our historical heritage, and have added to our store of information and assisted in preserving historical data, sites and structures. Among these may be mentioned the forty-three local and county historical societies which have stimulated interest in local areas; our State Historical Society which for thirty-five years has encouraged study of Illinois history and has served most effectively to correlate and give direction to the work of all of the agencies which have in any way contributed to the furtherance of our knowledge of the history of our state; and the State Historical Library, founded forty-five years ago, through its facilities, has been a most potent factor in collecting and preserving historical data of every description pertaining to Illinois and the Middle West. Since 1917, the Division of Parks and Memorials has been an important factor in the preservation and restoration of numerous historic monuments in the state, such as the work carried out in the restoration of New Salem. The Chicago Historical Society, the Illinois Historical Survey, the Abraham Lincoln Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and similar societies have all contributed their part to the recording and preserving of structures and places of historical interest in Illinois.

Recognition must also be given to the many loyal individuals who, through their own efforts, have contributed so much to furthering of the historical interests of the state.

Through all of these agencies a great amount of historical data has been collected, which when it is carefully analyzed, discloses the fact that the early building activities of the state and the resulting architectural remains have been an important factor

in the life of the people of the state, and that much that is historically significant has been drawn from a study of the old and historic structures still preserved to us.

In recent years some historians have given special attention to the more noted of our early architectural monuments, and many others have been quietly gathering materials, going about reaching for interesting types and endeavoring to correlate the findings into a connected story, based on historical facts.

Nine years ago a paper was presented at the annual meeting of this society, on the subject, "A Proposed Survey of the Early Architecture of Illinois." After further search and study a more comprehensive essay was presented at our annual meeting three years ago, entitled, "An Outline of the History of Architecture in Illinois." These surveys were dreams, set down on paper, a hope that at some future time a more detailed study and a systematic recording might in some way be accomplished.

And now from an unexpected source has come this much desired opportunity, and it is interesting to observe that this has come as a result of the depression. Perhaps there is some truth in the old adage that out of unfortunate circumstances some good results may come.

During recent months an opportunity has come, through one of the C.W.A. projects, known as the "Historic American Buildings Survey." Architects are, of course, deeply interested in every phase of architectural development, both new and old. Since little or no new work was in progress, they turned their attention to the preservation of the old. To provide work for unemployed architects and architectural draftsmen, under the C.W.A., a plan was worked out jointly with the U. S. Department of the Interior, in the offices of National Parks, Buildings and Reservations, the Congressional Library, and the American Institute of Architects, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., whereby it was proposed to engage approximately one thousand unemployed architects and draftsmen in measuring, photographing, preparing measured drawings, and otherwise recording the more important historic structures in the United States, from the earliest period of settlement down to 1860—the Civil War period.

The organization effected provided for the administration of the work through some forty local chapters of the American Institute of Architects scattered throughout the United States, two of which are located in Illinois—the Chicago Chapter and the Central Illinois Chapter. Twenty-two men were allotted to each of our chapters. The territory assigned to the Chicago Chapter was the northern half of the state, and to the Central Illinois Chapter was assigned the southern half.

These groups were further divided into squads of from three to five men each, and sent into every part of the state, to study the structures of historical and architectural interest, selected by the advisory committee and approved at Washington. These have been photographed, measured and recorded in drawings, and historical data collected from reliable sources. Thus, at last, a systematic survey and permanent recording has been made of the various types of structures still standing today, which by their character will serve as documents for the further study of the life, activities and ideals of the people of our state.

It is not the purpose of this paper to relate in detail how the work of the survey was carried on, but rather to study the results and to correlate the findings with those of the other state agencies, and from it all to weave something of a connected story of the early architectural development in Illinois.

When white men first came into this section of our country, now known as Illinois, they found it inhabited by semi-barbaric Indian tribes, who were living in a primitive state, having only a crude art and an equally crude type of architecture. Their primitive shelters, and the mounds of a still earlier race, were the only architectural forms native to the Illinois country.

If these tribes had been left undisturbed for some centuries more, they might have evolved a style of architecture from their primitive forms, but the coming of a civilized and aggressive white race cut short the slow progress of the native Indian, and introduced into Illinois an architecture based upon European traditions, similar to that of our Eastern states. The advent of the French and Canadian explorers was the first step in this change from native to foreign influence.

Following the explorers came the French and Canadian traders, hunters, missionaries, and soldiers of fortune, who established

Cahokia Court House, Now in Lincoln Park, Chicago (upper)

Pre-emption House, Naperville (lower)

trading posts, missions and forts, and built simple structures of logs. Their camps were often combined with Indian villages, resulting in communities of considerable size and importance, such as the old French and Indian villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. The earliest French buildings were of the log palisade type, or stockade; that is, the walls were formed by setting logs vertically in trenches, and filling the spaces between them with clay and moss. The roof was made of poles and the bark of trees. In time these were replaced by structures of hewn timbers set vertically and covered with weather-boarding and more securely roofed with split shingles. The typical French house of Kaskaskia was low and broad, having one main story, dormer windows in the roof, spacious porches and small balconies. Some of the better houses were of brick, and a few were of stone. Because of the destruction of the entire village of Kaskaskia by river floods, none of these buildings exists today, but on the bluffs on the opposite side of the river stands the well known Pierre Menard house, today the sole survivor of French architecture in that immediate vicinity. Happily, this house is preserved as a state monument and is now being carefully restored to its original condition by the state. A creole house in Prairie du Rocher is also preserved, and has been recorded in the recent survey.

Although the first style of architecture introduced into Illinois was based on French tradition, it was only temporary. For, following the French, there came a great wave of American settlers from the older states to the South and East. Americanization of the territory was made inevitable by the Ordinance of 1787, which established the Northwest Territory, as a part of the United States. By 1800 there was a distinct movement of venturesome pioneers across the Ohio and the Wabash, into southern Illinois. The first of these were of the hunter-farmer class, who came largely from Kentucky and Tennessee. They were followed by a more industrious class of men—those who came to secure land and build permanent homes. By 1810 a still greater wave of immigration from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and other southeastern states began. The population of southern Illinois during this period was made up almost entirely of peoples from the south, and for a half-century or more the lower section of the state showed marked southern influence. These settlers unconsciously followed the architectural

traditions of their home lands; consequently, the early architecture of the lower section of Illinois was also distinctly southern in character. The history of the development of architecture in Illinois begins in this section of the state, and the oldest remaining examples are to be found there.

The first structures erected by these American pioneers were log cabins, similar to those then so common in Kentucky, Tennessee, and western Virginia. The method of construction was wholly different from the earlier French palisade type in which the logs were set vertically. The American pioneer method was one in which the logs were placed horizontally, and made firm by carefully hewn logs, and the spaces between carefully calked with split puncheon strips and clay, and later with lime and sand mortar. The floors were of puncheon boards and the roof covered with split shingles. This method of building continued for a long period in the wooded section of the state and many hundreds were erected. Although most of these have perished, yet in certain sections many are still in existence, some still serving as habitations, and many more serve as barns or for storage purposes. Along the old dirt roads among the hills of southern Illinois many of these still exist. In the wooded areas south of Charleston and in the vicinity of Greenup and Effingham they may be seen along the highways. The building survey has brought to our attention a number that are still standing. One in the vicinity of Carbondale, has been recorded as being typical of its period, and showing the early mode of living. It is still in use as a dwelling.

Following the two earlier waves of pioneer settlers in southern Illinois, there came a third movement of settlers of a somewhat different type. These came from the New England and other Eastern states. Many were men of means, investors, merchants, trained mechanics, lawyers, and other professional men. On account of their education and former environment, they often became the leaders in the upbuilding of their communities and in the affairs of state. Some built large and attractive homes and gave some tone of culture to the new country. While many of these came into the southern communities, the great majority of those from the New England area, settled in the northern half of Illinois, where even today may be found numerous examples of architecture based on New England tradition. The Colonial and

Georgian styles were the most prevalent in the New England and Eastern states during this period, and these styles were thus introduced into the Illinois country. Several examples of the work of this period in Illinois have been recorded through the Survey.

Whether the early settlers in Illinois came from the South or the East, they had one trait in common—namely, that it was their natural desire to build their western homes, after the manner to which they were accustomed in the East. Traditions were strong, especially in the matter of home building; consequently, it is not surprising that many of the new homes in the West should reflect much of the architectural character of those in the old home communities.

Added to this was the influence coming from the mechanics and builders, who were trained in the traditional styles and methods of construction in the South and East. Since they were called upon not only to construct, but also to design many of the buildings they erected, their influence was large. These builders were further influenced by the carpenters' handbooks published in the East, which furnished the builders with designs, and details of construction. Many buildings are still standing in Illinois which show the direct influence of the carpenters' handbooks and of Eastern traditions. The carpenter-builders with the aid of guidebooks, fulfilled the function of architect in the early days.

Available building materials have always been an important factor in architectural development. Illinois builders were fortunate in having at hand an abundance of native building materials. In the early period a large part of Illinois was a wooded country; consequently, wood was one of the principal materials used by the earlier settlers. As has been pointed out, the earliest structures were usually of rough log construction. Later, buildings were erected of more carefully hewn logs, and eventually of hewn timbers, framed, and covered with weather-boarding. The final step in the use of wood came with the advent of the sawmill.

The early mills were of crude construction, and were water-power mills. They were built on streams in wooded areas, where the rivers provided not only power for sawing, but also afforded a means of floating the logs in rafts to the mills, and of transporting the sawn lumber to distant points, where needed. At a later period steam power mills replaced the earlier water power mills.

The sawmill made possible timbers of various dimensions and a wider range of use, and was a most potent factor in the development of architecture in Illinois.

The native building stone of Illinois was used at a very early date, but stone was not so widely distributed or so easily transported as wood; consequently, its use was limited to local areas. Occasionally stone could be transported by boat, and still later when transportation facilities were better developed, stone was often used for public buildings throughout the state. In a few local areas, where stone was easily obtained, an early stone architecture was developed, which has distinct characteristics. A number of these buildings have been recorded in the Survey.

The use of brick strongly influenced the character of the early architecture in Illinois. At a very early date brick had been imported, being brought down the rivers from the older communities in the East. Some very early structures in Old Kaskaskia were built of these imported brick, and a little later many structures were erected in Shawneetown of brick which were easily transported to the village by river boats. Many of the early settlers were skilled in making brick, and they set up plants in Illinois. It was a common practice of farmers to make brick on their own farms, for the building of their homes; while in the towns, brickmaking was carried on as a commercial enterprise. Eventually every town or community of any size had a local brickmaking plant, and there were hundreds of them scattered all over the state, wherever good brickmaking clays were available. With a large supply of brick available, Illinois was destined to have a distinct brick architecture.

As the population in Illinois increased with the incoming settlers, among whom were men of every walk of life, many types of structures were required and erected. The building of homes was of first consideration. Illinois from the very beginning has been a state of homes. The log cabin of the pioneer was merely the first or temporary step toward the establishment of a more permanent type of residence architecture.

The introduction of the sawmill was the next step in the development, making possible the building of larger and better equipped frame houses, and in time the pioneer looked forward to a home not only to meet his physical needs, but one which would

also satisfy his aesthetic desires. Man is, by nature, so constituted that he desires the beautiful as well as the practical, and these desires led the settlers to gradually improve their surroundings and their homes. The memory and knowledge of the better class of homes in their old communities spurred them on to finer homes in Illinois.

In such early towns as Old Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Shawneetown, Elizabethtown, Edwardsville, Belleville, and Albion, finer homes of frame, brick or stone were erected while the countryside was still one of log cabins. In the recent survey, the following structures were examined, photographed, and some of them measured and recorded in reconstructed drawings: the old *Jarrot Mansion,* Cahokia, dating from 1798, said to be the oldest brick building in Illinois, and in the Middle West; built of brick made near the site. The *John Marshall House,* Shawneetown, dating from 1804, and built of brick brought down the Ohio; it was the first brick house built in Shawneetown and is of special historic interest to us because it housed for a time the first bank organized in Illinois. The *Collins Homestead,* Collinsville, dating from 1820, of frame construction, and built by the Collins brothers, founders of Collinsville. The *Janitor's Cottage,* St. Paul's Evangelical Church, Belleville, which is a typical example of the work of the German settlers who came here as early as 1815, a type of masonry work found throughout the area, of the period of 1830. The *Priest's House,* at Cahokia, a small Greek Revival house dating from 1830. This housed, for many years, the priests of the Holy Family Church. The *Godfrey Homestead,* Godfrey, built in 1830 by Benjamin Godfrey, founder of the village which bore his name, and who was also the builder of the St. Louis, Alton and Chicago Railroad between Alton and Springfield—a fine example of a large stone house of the period. The *Joseph Duncan House,* at Jacksonville, a large frame house, built in 1834, and typical of the larger houses of the time. The *Lincoln Homestead,* at Springfield, purchased by Abraham Lincoln in 1844. The orginal portion was built in 1839, and subsequently enlarged by the Lincolns. The *George French House,* Albion, built of brick in 1841, by Mr. French who was a member of the English communistic settlement, at Albion. It is in the Georgian style. The *Thompson House,* also at Albion. A brick Georgian type built by Mr. Thompson,

Church of the Holy Family, Cahokia (upper)
Jarrot Mansion, Cahokia (lower)

George French House, Albion (upper)
Old Supreme Court Building, Mt. Vernon (lower)

an Englishman who joined the colony founded by Birkbeck and Flowers. The building now serves as the Albion Public Library.

The survey, in the northern half of Illinois, included many fine examples of Post-Colonial, Georgian, and Greek Revival houses. This section of the state was settled later than the southern portion; consequently, none of the buildings studied is dated earlier than 1830. Some of the more important houses of frame construction of the northern section are as follows: The *General Chetlain Home*, five miles west of Galena, built in 1832, an interesting design, including a low-lying original log structure. The *Bradford House*, Ottawa, a temple type, dating from 1833. The *Colonel Davenport House*, Rock Island—a building of historic interest and fine design, built in 1833. The *Billings House*, Beardstown, dating from 1835; a two-story type, having an unusual pierced wood balcony across the front. The *Colonel Warren Residence*, Warrenville, a fine example of the 1835 period. The *Telford House*, Park Avenue, Galena, built in 1838, having an unusually good Doric portico. The *Baumert House*, Nauvoo, built in 1840; a charming cottage type with interesting scroll sawed work. The *Distlemeyer House*, Galena, a very curious construction of half-timber by the pioneers of 1840. The *Mansion House*, Nauvoo, dating from 1840; of historic interest, having been directly associated with Joseph Smith. The *Deere Birthplace*, Grand Detour, a place of historic interest of the 1840 period. The *Murphy Farmhouse*, Belvidere, typical of the period when even farmhouses were designed in the Greek Revival mode. It dates from 1840. The *Orson Rogers House*, Marengo, is another example of a Doric porticoed farmhouse, of a very interesting exterior design, of the period of 1849. The *Captain Wells House*, Geneva, dating from 1847, has an outstanding Greek Temple front. The old *Bristol House*, Batavia, 1853, is a quaintly designed Greek Revival house. The *Ekerson House*, Beardstown, is a house showing the typical use of decorative cast iron work, of the period of 1854. The above are typical examples of the frame houses which have been put on record through the survey.

The survey also included a number of very interesting brick houses in northern Illinois, built between 1830 and 1860, in the Post-Colonial, Georgian and Greek Revival styles. The *Walker House*, Lewistown, an interesting Dutch and gable type, of 1831.

The *General Smith Stahl House*, Galena, 1840, shows outstanding excellence of design in the Greek Ionic Order. The *Babbit House*, Nauvoo, a house of very fine plan and good exterior design in a severe spirit, built in 1842. The *Woodruff House*, Nauvoo, another house of good plan and exterior design, with double chimney ends; built in 1842. The *Hoge House*, Galena, 1845, a fine example of Greek Revival in the Doric Order. The *Elihu Washburne House*, Galena, 1846, has an excellent Greek Doric portico, and the *James Dowling House*, also in Galena, 1847, is a highly developed Greek Ionic house, having a good plan. The fine old Greek Revival houses in Galena are a direct indication of the commercial importance and wealth of the town during the 'forties.'

Following closely upon the building of homes, came the erection of taverns to accommodate the traveling public and prospective settlers. Frequently the early settler operated a small tavern as a means of livelihood until his farm reached a productive stage. The earliest taverns were built of logs and a little later of frame construction. Still later, in the larger towns and communities, they were built of brick, often of considerable size and called hotels. The architectural character of the earlier examples was not unlike the ordinary dwellings of the time, except, in some instances, they were larger. The better class of taverns were built and operated by men of experience, from the older Southern and Eastern states, and the architectural style was usually similar to that of these older areas. At one time there were hundreds of these taverns scattered throughout the state, but only a few remain today, and most of these have been much altered.

A few of the better preserved of these historic old structures have been recorded in the Historic Buildings Survey. The old *Wabash Hotel*, Edwardsville, built of brick in 1820, is typical of the larger taverns of the early period, and this one is of historical interest because Lincoln and Douglas were entertained here in 1858. It was the stopping place of many men of prominence in the early history of Illinois. The *Sheridan Tavern*, in New Haven, dates from 1822, and is typical of the earliest small taverns. This, too, is said to have sheltered Lincoln. It is of wood frame construction, and now is in a most dilapidated condition. The *Preëmption House*, Naperville, is typical of the larger frame

Louis Chetlain House, Galena (upper)
Telford House, Galena (lower)

Wilfred Woodruff House, Nauvoo (upper)
Mansion House, Nauvoo (lower)

taverns. It was built in 1834. The old *Brick Tavern,* at Princeton, built in 1838, is a fair example of small country taverns. The *Lincoln Hotel,* Belleville, is a Classical Revival type, built of brick in 1848. The exterior shows an interesting treatment of brick pilasters. The old *Halliday Hotel,* Cairo, is an example of a very large hotel of an Illinois metropolis of early days. It is of brick, built in 1850, five stories in height and covers a large ground area. It is particularly rich in Civil War lore, since Gen. U. S. Grant stopped here during the war period, and kept prisoners in dungeons beneath the pavement.

Taverns are usually associated with old trails, roads and stagecoach routes, and all were important in the life of the early settlers. One of the most important features in road building is that of the construction of bridges which may be rightfully considered one type of architecture. Of the early bridges the most characteristic were the picturesque old covered wooden bridges, in which the main structural features,—usually two large wooden trusses—were housed and roofed to protect the structural members from weather and decay. Some of these were ingeniously contrived, and for their time were probably far in advance of any other type of building in the state, from the standpoint of engineering design and construction. The covered wagon bridge was a familiar landmark, common in nearly every part of the state, from 1830 until long after the Civil War, and was our most spectacular and picturesque type of rural architecture. At one period there were many of these old bridges spanning the rivers and streams in our state, but only a few remain today, the sole survivors of a phase of the early architecture in Illinois that is fast vanishing. Only two examples have been definitely recorded in the recent survey. One, to the east of Cairo, is of the arch-trussed type, now in a poor condition, and another, near Homer, is of braced frame construction, with a span of one hundred twenty feet. This bridge had been condemned for many years, and not in use. It was measured and photographed on March 10, and on April 5 it fell into the river! The record of its construction had been made none too soon.

Another type of early architecture is also associated with the rivers and streams of our state, namely, mills. Reference has already been made to sawmills, and the part they played in our early

architecture. Other types of mills were equally important—mills for grinding of grain, especially corn and wheat. There were a large number of these in the early days before improved transportation was developed, when each community needed a mill within easy hauling distance. Modern methods of milling have been the cause for abandoning most of the old mills, and only a few remain today.

The *Crane Mill*, Fullersburg, is an example of a typical water power mill. It is of brick construction, three stories in height, and dates from 1852. The *Smith Mill*, near Buckhart, is typical of the second step in mill construction. It is built of stone and wood, two stories in height. The *Heideman Mill*, near Addison, is representative of several pioneer wind mills of the Dutch type.

In the history of architecture in Illinois, church building occupies a foremost position. The French explorers and traders were accompanied by missionaries and, in their earliest settlements, there were churches in the larger communities. The earliest on record are those at Old Kaskaskia, now destroyed, and at Cahokia. From that time on down to the present, church architecture has been an important phase of building in every organized area. The early American settlers brought with them the religious traditions of their old homes and it was not long until they established churches in their new settlements. The little churches of crude architecture soon gave way to structures that were inspired by the Colonial, or later by the stately Classical and Greek Revival, of the older states. Even the Gothic Revival style of church architecture made its appearance in Illinois at a time when but few of this type were to be found in the Eastern states.

The survey included a number of early churches, practically every type of architecture being represented. The oldest church edifice standing in Illinois today is the *Church of the Holy Family*, Cahokia, a wood frame building which dates from 1799. Although considerably altered upon the exterior, a portion of the structural parts belongs to the original. In one section may be seen a bit of the original "palisade" construction, that is, of hewn timbers set vertically. *St. Paul's Episcopal Church*, Alton, built in 1833, is a fine example of early Gothic style of architecture in Illinois, executed in stone. It has some historical associations, especially in connection with Elijah Lovejoy. The *First Congregational*

Graue Water Mill, Fullersburg (left)
Heideman Mill, Addison (right)

Congregational Church, Godfrey (left)
Beecher Hall, Illinois College, Jacksonville (right)

Church, Rockton, 1838, is another example of an early church built in stone, but in the classic manner, having an entrance in Greek details. The *Congregational Church,* at Godfrey, is of frame construction and dates from 1840. It was organized in 1839 as "The Church of Christ in Monticello." It is a very refined example of the Greek Doric Temple type in Illinois. The proportions of the main body of the structure are most pleasing, but as is usual in Greek Revival churches, the spire seems too dominant. The *Unitarian Church,* at Geneva, is a stone structure dating from 1843. The *Episcopal Church,* at Galena, 1848, is a fine stone Gothic building. *The Aiken Institute,* formerly the *First Baptist Church,* built of brick in 1853, is the only remaining example of early Chicago church architecture. An interesting old wooden church in Warrenville, built in 1855, shows a curious mixture of Classic and Gothic detail. The *College Chapel,* McKendree College, Lebanon, is a brick Georgian structure, built in 1857, and rich in association with prominent educational and Methodist church interest and growth in the Middle West. The *Presbyterian Church,* Winchester, is a brick and wood Greek Revival church edifice, dating from 1860. It displays a very refined use of the Greek Doric Order of architecture.

No phase of the early architecture of Illinois is more interesting than that connected with the story of schools and colleges. After providing themselves with some means of livelihood, homes for themselves, and churches for their communities, the next step of the early settlers was to establish schools and colleges for the education of their children. Having come from older states where the general scheme of education was well defined, it was most natural for them to model their school systems and their school architecture after that in their former communities. Schools, like churches, were a desirable asset for each new settlement or village, and served to attract more settlers, and those of a better class. Organized churches took an active part in encouraging the establishment of schools, seminaries, academies, and colleges.

School house architecture passed through the same evolutionary process as the church: beginning with the crude log cabin, later replaced by a small frame structure, which eventually gave way to more pretentious buildings of brick or stone. In the older states school and college architecture had already taken on well

defined characteristics both in plan and arrangement, and exterior architectural expression. In most cases the early structures in Illinois showed a close resemblance to those of the Eastern states. There are a number of these early examples still standing, several of which were included in the recent survey. *Beecher Hall,* Illinois College, Jacksonville, is in the brick Georgian style, built in 1829, and bears the distinction of being the oldest college building in the Middle West. Also, the first medical school in Illinois was started in this structure. Another college building of very early date is *Loomis Hall,* Shurtleff College, Alton, built in 1832, of brick and stone construction. The old *Main Building* or Central Hall, McKendree College, Lebanon, is an early brick Georgian building, built in 1851.

After 1818, when Illinois became a state, there was a need for another class of structures, namely, public buildings—a State House, court house, banks, and in time, various institutional buildings. Here again, the types and styles of public buildings in the older states served as models for those of the new. Often the architects in adjoining states were called upon to design public buildings in Illinois, and later, architects trained in the East located in some of our larger cities.

Illinois possesses a real heritage in her old capitols. Few states can boast of two such buildings still standing, and in a fair state of preservation. Until the final destruction of old Kaskaskia, there also existed the old brick territorial capitol and the old stone court house which for a brief period served the purpose of a state capitol. The old state capitol at Vandalia, now preserved as a state monument, although the rebuilding of a former structure, served as a capitol for a few years, until the building of the first capitol at Springfield. It is a substantial structure of brick walls on a stone foundation, and finished in wood trim and cornice. It is a semi-classic type, a mixture of Georgian with some Greek Revival details.

When Springfield was selected as the permanent capital, the wealth of the state had reached a point where it was felt that a finer structure, one really worthy of Illinois, should be erected. For the first time in the history of state affairs, steps were taken to secure the design and services of an architect. The building committee formulated a competition and advertised for plans,

offering awards for the best designs. In making the awards, the first prize was given to John F. Rague, an eastern trained architect who had lately settled in Springfield, who received $200, while the second prize was given to a Mr. Singleton, of St. Louis. Both of these architects were accustomed to design in the Greek Revival and the building which resulted proved to be one of the finest in this style in the Middle West. Although much altered in its present condition and used as a court house, it is worthy of being restored and made a state monument. This building, when new, exerted a considerable influence upon the architecture of Illinois. It made the Greek Revival the official style for the state, and soon a number of court houses and other public buildings were erected in the Greek mode.

The earliest court houses were constructed of logs and in appearance were not far different from the early log churches. The interior furnishings were as primitive as the structures themselves, consisting mainly of movable benches. Lincoln often attended court in just such simple surroundings. These primitive buildings were later replaced by frame structures of simple architectural lines. As the counties gained in population and wealth, a still larger and better equipped court house would be needed; consequently, the third structure, often erected on the original site, would be a large brick or stone edifice, usually in the Classical or Greek Revival style. During the period from 1830 to 1850, many of these Greek or Roman temple court houses were built, a few of which still exist.

The oldest log court house preserved to us is that which was originally built in Cahokia, but which was moved to Chicago for the Columbian Exposition in 1893, and which still remains in Jackson Park. Another log structure, also removed from its original location, now stands in a public park in Decatur. It was built in 1829, and is of historical interest because Lincoln is said to have practiced law in it 1838. An early temple-type court house is still standing in the ancient village of Thebes. This was built of stone in 1845. Thebes was once a county seat. The old court house at Metamora, which at one time was a county seat, is now preserved as a state monument. It is of the temple type, built of brick, and dates from 1845. It is of historical interest because Lincoln practiced law here, and is now a Lincoln memorial museum.

The two most distinguished court houses still standing today are the old Supreme Court buildings at Mt. Vernon and Ottawa. They recall the period when the state was divided into three Supreme Court districts, with a court building in each. The Mt. Vernon structure was built in 1848, and that at Ottawa in 1850. Both are of brick, and in the Greek Revival style, and may be considered completely developed court houses. Today they are still in use, now serving as appellate courts. These two buildings were listed in the survey and that at Mt. Vernon was completely measured and recorded.

Another interesting phase of architectural development in Illinois is that of bank structures. The first banking institution in the state was established at Shawneetown while Illinois was yet a territory. It was housed in the John Marshall house, which is still standing and which was one of the first buildings to be measured in the Survey in southern Illinois. The second oldest bank building is also located in Shawneetown. The building which in recent years has been known as the First National Bank of Shawneetown, was built in 1838, and housed one of the first six State Banks in Illinois. Architecturally, this is one of the most distinguished old Greek Revival bank buildings still standing in Illinois. It is a rare example in all Greek Revival work, since it is a distinct temple type and unusual in that it has a facade of five Greek Doric columns. The usual type has an even number of columns. This building was also one of the first to be completely measured and recorded in the Survey. Shawneetown is one of the oldest villages in the state, and possesses a rich historical heritage in these two early bank buildings. Almost from the beginning the banking institutions in Illinois were usually housed in distinctive structures, often of the Classical and Greek Revival type, of which the old First State Bank of Shawneetown is a fine example.

The United States Government, through the building of post offices and customs houses, exerted a marked influence upon the early architecture of Illinois. These structures were usually built of the most durable materials, sturdily constructed and designed in the best manner. In most instances they were designed by government architects in Washington, D. C., and usually reflected the most popular architectural style then in vogue in the country. As the styles changed from time to time in the East, these changes

were soon reflected in the new buildings designed in Washington; consequently, the government became a potent factor in the introduction of the various styles into Illinois, where they in turn influenced the style of local work. Although buildings of this class were not included in the Survey, there are a number of early post offices and customs houses of the early period still standing, as for instance the Old Federal Building in Galena, which dates from 1858 and was built of limestone from the Nauvoo quarry.

Early commercial types of buildings were also included in the Survey. One of the earliest recorded is the *Hooper-Warren Print Shop*, in Edwardsville, which dates from 1819. This is of historical interest, for it was the home of the "Spectator," the third newspaper to be published in Illinois, a powerful abolitionist sheet. The *Hobson Law Office*, Naperville, is a small frame structure typical of the individual offices of the early professional men in Illinois in 1845. The *Dowling Store*, Galena, a typical brick mercantile structure of the period of 1846, is an excellent example showing some fine old iron work. Another structure of the same period is the old *Market House*, in Galena, and one of the most important early structures. The *Thompson Store*, Marengo, is a small frame shop-type structure with a refined entrance, with details in the spirit of the work of the Brothers Adam. It is dated 1855. An old wood *Store Building*, in Xenia, dating from 1870, exhibits an early classical front, a type rapidly disappearing from Illinois. An old wood *Store Building*, in Cairo, a type popular at the time General Grant had his headquarters in Cairo, is still standing and was included in the Survey.

A structure of singular interest among the early factory buildings of Illinois is represented by the old *Blum and Schoettler Stock Bell Factory*, at Carlinville, said to be one of only two of its kind in the United States, and from which cowbells have been sent to all parts of the world.

Frequent reference has been made in this paper to the styles in the early architecture in Illinois. Each type of structure, namely, houses, churches, schools, banks, court houses, etc., has passed through all the stylistic waves which, at times, were prevalent in the United States. The first structures were a reflection of the work of Colonial times in the Eastern and Southern states. Gradually the style changed to the American Georgian, which was

Staircase, Hinsdell House, Elgin (upper left)
Fireplace, Hoge House, Galena (upper right)
Fireplace, Washburne House, Galena (lower left)
Doorway, Warren House, Warrenville (lower right)

an American interpretation of the Georgian of England, and which was first used in our Eastern and Southern states; from there it was carried into Illinois. The Colonial and Georgian were in turn followed by the Classical Revival, which was adopted by the United States following the Revolution, as being appropriate to the New Republic, a style inspired by the work of Ancient Rome. This style, too, was soon introduced into Illinois. The Classical Revival movement was closely followed by another, the Greek Revival, in which Greek architectural forms replaced the Roman. These Revival styles resulted in many buildings in imitation of Classic Roman or Greek temples, the chief features of which were the large columnar porticos and heavy classical cornices. There were other stylistic movements, such as the Gothic Revival, Romanesque Revival, and many phases of the Renaissance of the different countries of Europe—all of which at one time or another were taken as a source of inspiration by Eastern architects, and which eventually came to be reflected in the architecture of Illinois.

The buildings mentioned in this paper have been selected from a list of about one hundred, assembled for investigation and recording in the recent Survey. Of these, about forty examples were considered of first priority—that is, of both historical and architectural value. Most of these were visited, inspected, photographed, and measurements taken, from which accurate measured drawings of standard size were prepared by skilled draftsmen. The remaining sixty examples were, in most instances, visited, inspected, and in some cases, measurements taken, and historical data obtained. Aside from these, many other buildings have been located and indexed, for future investigation and study.

It is now proposed, by the National Park Service, the American Institute of Architects, and the Library of Congress, to perpetuate the H.A.B.S. as a permanent organization to coördinate all future work of recording historic American buildings. These bodies now consider the task of preserving records of the historic monuments of America to be one of vital necessity, and that the clearest record of the nation's life lies in the structures it has built.

Unfortunately, many buildings that would be highly prized today have already disappeared. Large sums are constantly being spent to rebuild such landmarks as the vanished first capitol of Virginia at Williamsburg, the first State House in Maryland at St.

Mary's, and Wakefield, the birthplace of Washington. In the absence of complete records, such restorations must all be, to some extent, imaginary.

Even while we are preserving and restoring some of the monuments of our history, many others are daily disappearing. Through the slow destruction by decay and swift loss by fire, and the exigencies of civil and commercial developments, we are, through succeeding generations, losing many of the most perfect monuments of our past culture. The national government can lend its authority and aid to the making of records before all of these historic buildings are lost to posterity, and to make available these records for future reference to architects, students, and the public in general.

Although disconnected efforts have been made from time to time to record local samples of our domestic architecture, no national plans had been launched until the inception of the Historic American Buildings Survey, which has been in operation since last November.

During their brief period two facts have become clearly apparent: First, there is vital need for a permanent national plan to coördinate all work of this nature and to make it available to the public for research; second, the present standards of the Historic American Buildings Survey form an excellent basis for a continuous and much more comprehensive Survey.

The value of the recent Survey has become two-fold; for the recording of many structures to date, and for its promise of the establishment of a permanent survey for the future.

The records prepared in the Historic American Buildings Survey have been deposited in the Library of Congress,[1] thus becoming public property, and will be accessible to the public for research purposes, subject to the laws and regulations of the Library.

Illinois has taken a prominent place in this Survey, and our historic monuments have been rightfully recorded along with those of the other states of the Union. The results of this Survey have given ample evidence that we have here in the Middle West an

[1] Drawings, photographs and historical data regarding the structures recorded in Illinois have been filed in the Illinois State Historical Library.

historical and architectural background fully as interesting, varied and valuable as that of our sister states and that we, in Illinois, have in our historic monuments a heritage of which we may be justly proud.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I

Name and Objects

Section 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

Section 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II

Officers of the Society—Their Election and Duties

Section 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the society shall be ex-officio a member.

Section 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice-Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

Section 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

Section 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:—

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and to make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

Section 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by elections by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

Section 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice-president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president pro-tempore.

Section 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

Section 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of an initiation fee of not less than $2; and the payment thereafter of annual dues of not less than $2 as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

Section 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

Section 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

Section 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

Section 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

Section 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV

Meetings and Quorum

Section 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by

the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

Section 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V

Amendments

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; Provided that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

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